№ 3

JANUARY 1988

NEW TIMES

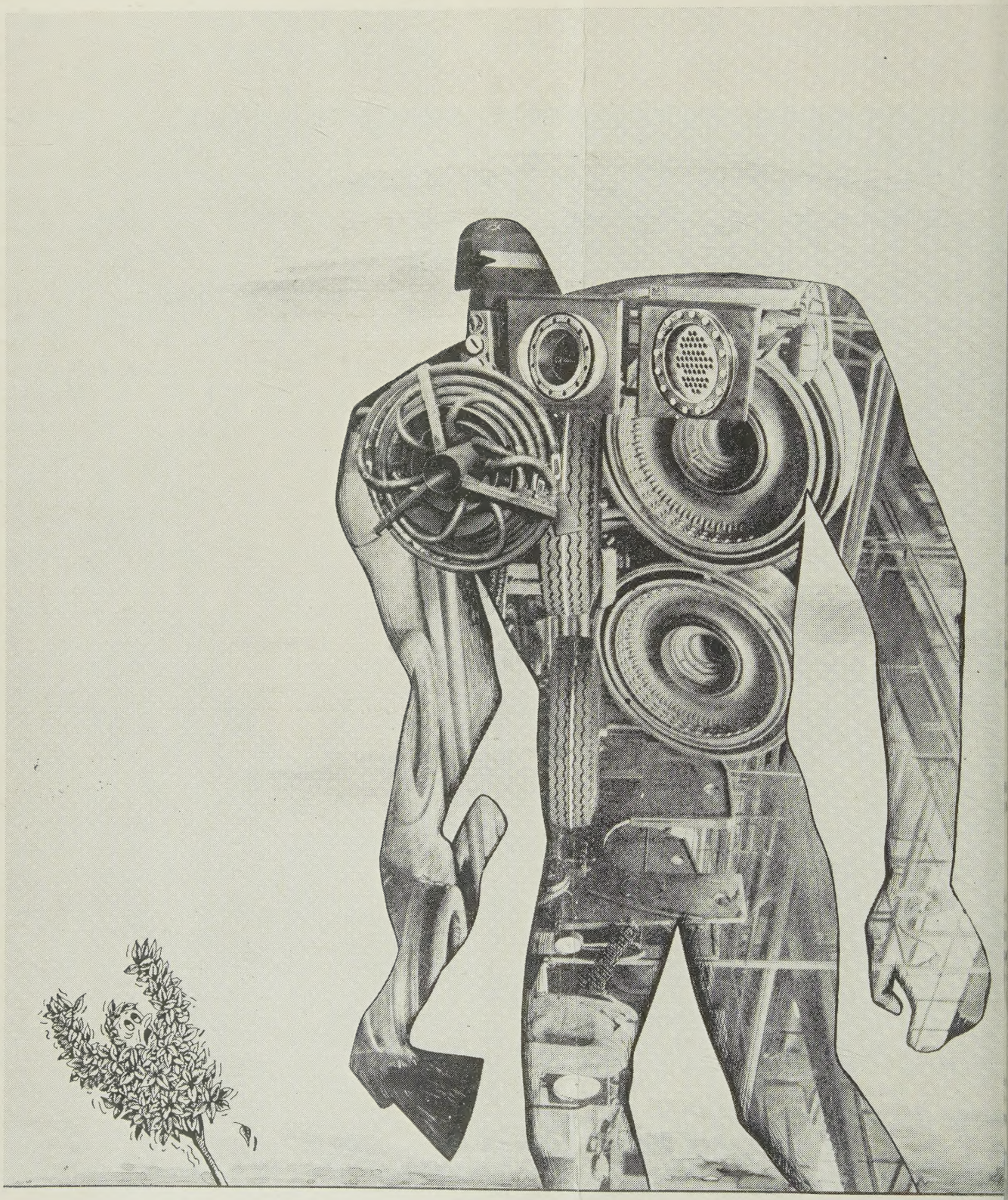
A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

HOW MUCH TO SPEND ON SCIENCE?

PROPERTY OF THE LIBRARY
FEB 04 1988
University of North Carolina at Greensboro

A FAST-CHANGING CHINA

DIPLOMACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS



Drawing by Garif Basyro

NEW TIMES

No. 3, January 1988
Founded 1943

Editor-in-Chief
VITALY IGNATENKO

Associate Editors:
L. ABRAMOV,
L. BEZYMENSKY,
V. CHERNYAVSKY,
S. GOLYAKOV,
V. KULISTIKOV,
L. MLECHIN,
A. PIN,
B. PISHCHIK,
D. POGORZHELSKY,
A. PUMPYANSKY,
Y. SHEVCHENKO,
V. STARSHINOV

Designer I. Shein

Editor of English edition:
E. Smirnov

DISARMAMENT PROBLEMS

This is how our cartoonist visualizes the implementation of the Soviet programme of stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear weapons presented in Mikhail Gorbachev's Statement of January 15, 1986.

The two years that have elapsed since then have shown that the Soviet plan is not a utopia but a reality.

See pp. 5-8

CONTENTS:

2
Glasnost
FROM OUR MAILBAG

4
Editorial
CHOICE

5
Disarmament problems
Yuri Lebedev.
A REALISTIC PROGRAMME OF ACTION

9
Observer's view
Dmitry Zgersky. TWO APPROACHES

10
Human rights
Anatoly Adamishin
CONCERNING THE "THIRD BASKET"

12
Yuri Kudimov
THATCHER'S AFRICAN TOUR

13
World economy
Felix Goryunov.
HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF!

16
Afghanistan
Vadim Okulov.
THE ROAD TO KHOST

18
China
Sergei Golyakov.
TAKING THE TIGER BY THE TAIL

22
Observer's view
Yuri Shevchenko.
SHOW MORE RESPECT FOR OUR HERITAGE

23
Reflections
Sergei Kara-Murza.
YOU CAN'T SPEND TOO MUCH ON SCIENCE

25
Medicine
Yuri Polishchuk.
PSYCHIATRY: MAKE SURE THE DIAGNOSIS IS RIGHT

28
Literature and history
Mikhail Shatrov.
ONWARD... ONWARD!

32
Music
Vasil Naidyonov:
"MY STIMULUS IS TRYING TO BE PERFECT"

PROPERTY OF THE LIBRARY
FEB 04 1988
University of North Carolina at Greensboro

Our address: Pushkin Square, Moscow, GSP, 103782, U.S.S.R. Telephones: 229-88-72, 209-07-67

Publisher: Trud, Moscow ● Published in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Polish and Czech ● Telex: 411164a NEWT SU, 411164b NEWT SU, 411164c NEWT SU ● Cables: New Times Pushkin Square Moscow ● Printed by the Moskovskaya Pravda press in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Concentrating on task No.1

I've got interested in foreign policy. I've come to realize that things happening far away concern me and that my family's well-being and very life depend on them. I see how hard my country is working to clear the international atmosphere from the harmful and dangerous "pollutants." We put forward the "non-nuclear 21st century" idea, which was followed by a host of other proposals, such as those to scrap certain weapons, to ban nuclear tests, and so on and so forth. There are so many of them that I feel dazed. Why should we spread our efforts out, instead of concentrating on the No. 1 task - a complete and universal nuclear disarmament?

VALENTINA PETROVA
Murmansk, U.S.S.R.

Let realism prevail

Two years ago our country presented, through the lips of our leader, an impressive plan for delivering mankind from the nuclear burden. I wondered how those dependent on arms manufacturers - i.e., American and other Western politicians - would be convinced of that programme's vital importance for all. Many of these politicians used to hold executive posts in munitions concerns, and some (as is the case in the States) are sure to have their sights on the vice-presidency or directorship of a prosperous missile or electronics company. All I could think of was to make them understand that any momentary profit, no matter how high, cannot distract from the outweigh be regarded as sufficient reason to keep mortal danger hanging over mankind, that there is no escaping this danger even in a personal underground shelter. Judging by the fact that an agreement was reached in the course of the Washington summit, American politicians are beginning to see the light. I hope that realism will prevail there in the end.

VICTOR SEMYONOV
Leningrad, U.S.S.R.

PROPERTY OF THE LIBRARY
FEB 01 1988
University of North Carolina Greensboro

GLASNOST

From our mailbag

The question remains open

I have the impression that glasnost is a real, significant and positive force that is characteristic of the democratic changes in your country. As for the other new notion, perestroika, neither the term as such, nor the phenomenon it stands for are sufficiently clear to me so far. I know, for instance, that Soviet society is now undergoing dramatic changes in most of the various spheres: the economy, international relations, the election system, public health, mass media, and so forth. I also know that a great many Party leaders at the republic level, and Politburo and the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers have been replaced. Do all these changes constitute the very essence of perestroika?

I am sure that until every ordinary Soviet citizen becomes interested in revolutionary changes, until life itself starts stirring him to vigorous activity, your perestroika won't get you anywhere.

COLIN CAMERON
Montreal, Canada

Faults to be exposed

I would like to remind you of an incident described by Batygin in his article "Is the majority always right?" (No. 42, 1987). A newly-elected factory director was quick in winning popularity and stepping up work efficiency. Suddenly, the influx of metal supply to the factory started petering out. The young director sounded the alarm, but for all the desperate telegrams he sent to the related plants, to the Ministry and to the State Planning Committee, no metal was forthcoming. You condemn the elected director and call him incompetent. But what was he to do, in your opinion? Where was he to get help? Instead of disclosing the causes of mismanagement and lack of coordination, instead of exposing these faults for all to see, you condemn a man who would not conform to old standards.

Cases of interruptions in raw material and equipment supply to factories are quite common in our country as well. This slows down the advance of socialism.

ERNST DIEDRICH
Warin, G.D.R.

...on previous leaders

I had the good fortune of studying in the Soviet Union before World War II. Since then I am a sincere and loyal friend of your country. For my comrades and myself, the members of the Indian-Soviet Friendship Society - in which I'm still active at 65 - the Soviet Union has always been and remains an example to follow; friendship with the U.S.S.R. is part of our national policy and public life. As we follow your achievements and progress we learn about great changes in your country. I mean perestroika and glasnost. We have welcomed this news but, frankly, I'm not quite sure you're right in criticizing your previous leaders.

I feel it is my duty, as a true friend, to speak my mind.

ANANTHA RAMAYAN
Nellore, India

...on women and perestroika

Although not irreproachable, Larisa Kuznetsova's article "A woman executive: why not?" (Issue No. 25, 1987) is, I think, the first serious attempt to discuss the negative, as well as the positive, aspects of the life of Soviet women. Quite a few people, including people in your country, I'm sure, demand that women should "know their place." The fair sex, they maintain, ought to do what is assigned by God (or by nature, if she is not religious): to bear children and to serve her husband soup. I think that perestroika in your country is intended for all, women included.

JESUS SANFERAN MARIN
Barcelona, Spain

WE ARE ALL FOR IT

A tempting offer

We enjoyed reading an interview with American businessman Mikhail Nite in your issue No. 47, 1987. Mr Nite suggests that Soviet-American cooperatives be set up. His idea sounds tempting to us, three young men aged 20, 22 and 24, who have done a tour of duty in the Soviet Army. Right now two of us keep regular jobs and take courses after hours. The reason why we like this idea is that, first of all, a joint venture (such as a café) may serve to promote closer cooperation between Russians and Americans. Second, such a cooperative is sure to bring in good profit not only to its organizers, but to the state as well. In a word, we need support and understanding, and would like to know what other readers have to say about this.

ARMEN AIRAPETYAN
Odessa, U.S.S.R.

OPINIONS

Impressive enthusiasm

It was with enormous interest that I read A. Butenko's article "Are there limits to glasnost?" (No. 40, 1987). The article seems most significant to me and I read practically all Soviet publications we get here in Cuba. What I'd like to point out, is that the enthusiasm with which your people take part in perestroika and in the reforms now under way in the U.S.S.R! is striking indeed. I am sure that with such an attitude towards the policy of the Party, given glasnost and control over the management's work from below (which, I think, is the vital prerequisite for the development of your society's material and spiritual wealth) you will be able to put an end to such phenomena as indifference, irresponsibility and injunction.

JESUS GARCIA MORALES
Villa Clara, Cuba

AN ARTIST'S COMMENT

A doomed fortress. Drawing by Igor Smirnov

EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT

I remember Herouville

I shall never forget the day in September 1944 when U.S. troops freed us. We were inmates of the Hérouville nazi concentration camp, situated on French territory. At that time the U.S. Army Command lavished so much care and attention on us that we, emaciated by starvation and exhausted by hard work (we had mined iron ore), fully recovered physically, while the U.S. soldiers' healthy optimism made us confident of nazism's inevitable defeat and our early return home.

The former prisoners, who had come from various countries, and the GIs got very friendly - like brothers, really. We talked a lot, confident that from then on we would be friends forever.

I do not believe that all the Johns, Ronalds and Bryans, so easy-going and affable, have forgotten all about our bright hopes, our fraternal friendship, and our dreams of a life without war. Although more than 40 years have passed since that sunny September, it still seems like yesterday to me.

Those GIs have become fathers and grandfathers by now. I'm sure they have told their children and grandchildren about the concentration camp prisoners who fought for the freedom of their countries. Can't those who have gone through all this hell, who survived the war and met on the Elbe, who have flown a space mission and tackled the aftermath of the Chernobyl tragedy together - can't they find a common language? There are many of us looking into the future with optimism. We are in the majority and therefore are sure to overcome. History is proof.

MARIA KALININA,
a WW II veteran
Minsk, U.S.S.R.

From our mailbag

GLASNOST

Give more space to history

I am a 24-year-old graduate student of the Moscow Geological Prospecting Institute, and am now working near Arkhangelsk. I liked many of your stories last year, especially the "Assassination Attempt" series. I would welcome more of such interesting historical features - say, a series on the Stalin period. I'm not just being curious or trying to follow the current craze for history. All I want is to know more about the most difficult period of my country's history which embraced so much: the first five-year plans, the victory over nazism, the accomplishments which enhanced the U.S.S.R.'s international prestige, and the mass purges... I know that my generation has yet to learn a great deal about all that.

ALEXEI POPOV

CHOICE

The events of the new year jostle for a place on the front page of newspapers. But the INF treaty still remains hot news. It is not only the fate of the treaty - so far the only agreement on a reduction of nuclear arms - that depends on the decisions of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet and American Senate to ratify or not, but also the entire process of the abolition of nuclear weapons, the course of disarmament as a whole, European and world security, the new thinking in international affairs, and the accumulated experience of finding non-standard decisions in politics and diplomacy.

Will we forge ahead, or will we fall back?

Soviet legislators intend to make a detailed study of the treaty but, in principle, their position arouses no doubts. This, however, cannot be said of the American Senators. We still remember how the three Soviet-American treaties of the seventies - the 1974 and 1976 agreements on limiting nuclear explosions and SALT-2 - were given their deathblow on Capitol Hill.

To a certain extent history repeats itself. The INF treaty was barely signed when its opponents and supporters in Washington political circles crossed swords. Congressman Jack Kemp, Republican contender for the presidency, immediately sent the Secretary of State an angry letter in which he accused the Soviet Union of forging the photograph of the SS-20 missile given to the Americans. That was neither the first nor the last attempt to sow suspicion.

Meanwhile the Senators are preparing for a long and serious debate. It begins on January 25 - when the new session of Congress opens - and could continue until mid-April. Under the American Constitution it is the Senate's prerogative to give the President "advice and consent" on the ratification of the treaty. Sixty-seven of 100 members of the Senate have to vote in favour of the treaty to be ratified. Many have already declared their support for it and so far not more than 15 Senators are against it. A few are considering giving negative "advice" - "killer" amendments that would make the agreement unacceptable to the Soviet side. Those who are indecisive talk about insufficient control or, on the contrary, that American military installations are being opened up too much to the Soviet side. The anti-communist rhetoric to mistrust the Russians is bearing fruit. Nevertheless....

Is history repeating itself? The American Presidents in recent decades sought to go down in history as peacemakers. Ronald Reagan assumed the presidency as an opponent of arms control. Leaving the post, he describes the INF treaty, which abolishes two classes of nuclear weapons, as the main achievement of his administration. We shall return later to the paradoxes in Reagan's policies and analyze them more carefully. But this about-face is not simply a paradox. It is an example of how life itself, and the burden of responsibility forces a politician to reassess the situation and act in the interests of most of his countrymen and the world community. Reagan has not become less of an anti-communist, merely more of a realist.

Will the INF treaty manage to pick its way through all the American domestic political quarrels, the clashes of immediate and long-term interests? I cannot make any forecasts. But we would like the legislators to approve the treaty signed in Washington, to be on the side of a safer future. And the sooner, the better.

40 years ago ...

✦

Volume 19 of the latest edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica contains a series of articles devoted to the history of the Soviet Union. These articles can serve as a typical example of how the history of our country is distorted by certain British and American writers and publishers.

Not one of the writers mentions the tremendous growth of the Soviet state and its importance in the contemporary world. The history of the Entente's intervention against the Soviet people is given in a completely false light. Not a word is said of Winston Churchill as the organizer of the intervention, though he himself has admitted this in his book "The World Crisis." Again, the Encyclopaedia fails to mention the fact that the British agent Lockhart organized a villainous attempt on the life of Lenin. There is no more than a faint hint at the participation of the United States in the intervention, although later it is admitted that American troops and American arms were landed on Soviet soil.

(New Times, No. 1, January 1, 1948)

✦

Mihai I, King of Romania, abdicates the throne. Romania is proclaimed a People's Republic by an act of Parliament.

✦

A Franco-American agreement on "interim aid" to France is signed in Paris. The French government accepts all the terms imposed by the U.S. Congress in connection with this aid.

✦

The cost of living in Chile is the second highest in Latin America. According to economists, "inflation in Chile is considerably greater than in many countries that fought in the war."

(New Times, No. 2, January 7, 1948)

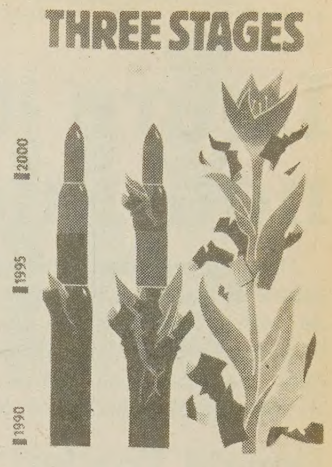
✦

Stunning facts were revealed in the course of the trial in Nuremberg, now in its fifth month, over the leaders of IG Farbenindustrie. Despite the efforts of the organizers of the trial and the American press to drop a veil of secrecy o American monopolies' ties v the concern, the facts re that the interests and policie IG Farbenindustrie were sely intertwined with those American chemical and monopolies. In effect, t pursued a common policy, jointly plotted against pe Their purpose was to di Hitler's aggression eastwar

✦

A conference between military governors of Bizo Clay and Robertson, representatives of the bi-z administration in Frankfort the Main, decided on establishment of a sepa West German state.

(New Times, N January 14, 1



Many people in the West consider the Soviet idea of entering the 21st century without nuclear weapons utopia. But developments have refuted this scepticism. Today the programme for the phased elimination of nuclear weapons, advanced by the Soviet Union on January 15, 1986, is becoming a reality. The Soviet-American INF treaty has been signed, and outlines for a treaty on a 50 per cent reduction in the strategic offensive weapons of the two countries are shaping up. Multilateral talks on drafting a convention for the global prohibition of chemical weapons have a real chance for success. Slowly but surely, we are moving towards establishing a comprehensive system of international security. This is mankind's future, and it can be achieved only in solving the nuclear weapon problem.

A REALISTIC PROGRAMME OF ACTION

Major General YURI LEBEDEV

The staged elimination of all nuclear weapons by the end of the century, known in the West as the Gorbachev Plan, is characterized by political realism and does not diminish the security of any nation.

The Reykjavik summit showed for the first time that the complete abolition of nuclear weapons is, in principle, a feasible proposition. It became evident that the Soviet Union and the United States can give up nuclear rivalry and confrontation. Though such an agreement was not reached in Reykjavik, the summit marked a turning point on the road to a nuclear-free world.

Subsequent developments have brought changes in the Soviet programme. In a joint effort, Moscow and Washington found a link in the chain of nuclear weapons which they thought would be easier to break. On December 8 the two countries signed an agreement on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles.

The conclusion of the Soviet-American INF treaty is the first step in carrying out the programme for the abolition of nuclear weapons, a historic landmark on the road to further disarmament. For after the ratification of this treaty, nuclear missiles of two classes, several thousand units of deadly weapons, will be destroyed. Three continents will get rid of a part of the monstrous nuclear burden. True, it is a small portion of the nuclear arsenal. What is important, however, is that part of the nuclear weapons will be eliminated and, it must be hoped, a new stage will open in the process of real nuclear disarmament.

Also important is the fact that the Soviet-American INF treaty promotes further results in the mutual efforts towards cuts in strategic offensive weapons. The Soviet programme for ridding the world of nuclear weapons concentrates on a reduction and, finally, the complete elimination of strategic offensive armaments. This was a key issue during the talks in Washington last December between the leaders of the two powers.

So far the two countries have discussed a 50 per cent reduction in strategic offensive weapons. The result would be to retain no more than 1,600 delivery vehicles (missiles and bombers) and 6,000 warheads. It is obvious that hundreds of missiles and thousands of nuclear warheads would be destroyed by both sides. What is also important is that a fresh, strong impulse would be given to the nuclear arms reduction process. The nuclear arms race, in its most threatening field of strategic armaments, would be hampered and the world would become a safer place to live.

An agreement on drastic cuts in strategic offensive weapons would make it possible to include other countries in the elimination of nuclear armaments, release funds badly needed for mankind's development, and facilitate progress towards ending the race in other classes of weapons.

Of course, one should not underestimate both the objective and subjective difficulties of the forthcoming talks. The scale of a reduction is itself a psychological barrier which will be invisibly present in the course of drafting an agreement.

But the two countries already have practical experience as regards agreements in such a sensitive field as nuclear armaments. Definite progress has also been made in mutual relations. This gives hope for success. The leaders of the two states have declared that they will spare no effort to bring about such an agreement. All this creates a feeling of optimism in regard to the forthcoming talks.

It is obvious that a reduction of strategic offensive weapons calls for measures to stop attempts to circumvent the future agreement through other channels of the arms race, mainly through outer space. That is why the Soviet and American leaders have instructed their delegations to work out an agreement that would compel both sides to observe the ABM treaty within an agreed period of time.

Many difficult problems also have to be solved in such a delicate sphere as verification. There may arise problems in the development of Soviet-American relations, the maintenance of strategic stability, and lessening the risk of nuclear war at a lower level of nuclear confrontation. The solution of these and other immediate problems should become

a new stage in the implementation of the Soviet programme for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons in the world.

The main thing is, however, that the programme for the elimination of nuclear weapons - initially a political document of intent - has in the two years since January 15, 1986, become a concrete plan of action. Not simply a workable plan, but a plan which is already being put into practice. ■

Learn to live in a non-nuclear world

How do representatives of the U.S. two main political parties see the future of Soviet-American relations and control over armaments? These and other questions are discussed in an interview granted our reporter Evgeny Andrianov by Donald L. Fowler, chairman of the 1988 Democratic national convention, and Republican Congressman Donald K. Sundquist, who were on a visit to Moscow recently.

Donald Fowler:

"The world was not built in a day"

When, two years ago, the Soviet Union announced its programme of building a world free of nuclear weapons, many thought it was not realistic. However, a treaty eliminating a whole class of nuclear weapons has now been concluded. Don't you think it has become possible to translate the Soviet plan into reality?

We are so accustomed to living and thinking in terms of the nuclear world that it's hard to make a long leap to a world without nuclear weapons. Personally, I appreciate and am thankful that we have taken the first step towards the security and equality of all nations. I think we would all be happy to have a non-nuclear world. But this may simultaneously become a reason for the complication of international relations. I have in mind complications in jumping from the INF treaty to a non-nuclear world. As we say in the United States, the world was not built in a day. So a non-nuclear world cannot be achieved with one, two or three treaties, even very good ones. It is a long process.

Nevertheless, the INF treaty is very important in this context. Though we reduce a small part of the arsenals, the treaty is a symbol of the change in our psychology, in our thinking. We should advance towards a treaty on strategic weapons, and hope it will be concluded this year. If we cross this threshold, it will be easier to take a third and a fourth step and approach what you call a non-nuclear world.

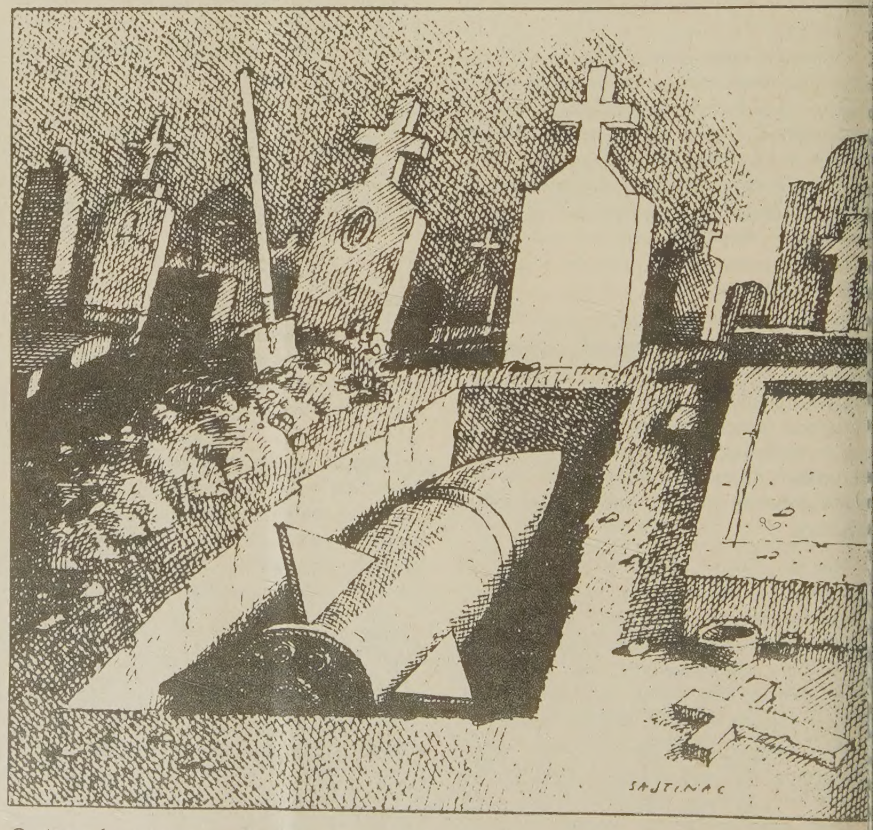
Before a second step is taken, The INF treaty should become a law for our countries. Both the Soviet parliament and the Senate now have it on their agenda for ratification.

I am confident that, ultimately, the U.S. Senate will ratify the INF agreement. Some members of the Senate are opposed to it. But they are in the minority. The vast majority of them have reservations about the accord. Only a few oppose the treaty outright. There will be a significant debate in the Senate,and it will perhaps go on for several weeks. But I think the treaty will ultimately be ratified without any killer amendments. It will be a good start towards improved relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. I think that my opinion on this issue is shared by the overwhelming majority of Americans.

During the Washington summit I talked with some of the legislators in Congress. The INF treaty had just been signed. I noticed that most of those who favoured the treaty were Democrats, while among the opponents were Republicans.

Well, there are a number of interesting and paradoxical aspects of American politics, and the attitude of senators to the treaty signed by the Republican administration is one of those paradoxes. To understand this paradox, one has closely to follow the domestic politics of the United States and the alignment of forces among legislators and in the administration.

President Reagan has been an outspoken critic of the Soviet Union. But despite his own policy towards your



Cartoon from Stern (F.R.G.)

country, he was able to show political courage, having understood the need for a constructive dialogue with the Soviet Union. He has done a good job. I think he feels confident that he has a good treaty. Democrats in the Senate would like President Reagan to have such a change in the relations between our countries sooner than he had. But since the change did take place, they will support the President on the question of ratification.

In the recent past Democrats called for a broader U.S.-Soviet dialogue, for the conclusion of agreements on arms control and disarmament. Statements of this kind were made by Democratic presidential hopefuls. Is it possible that in the present conditions the Democrats, guided by purely tactical considerations of the election campaign, will toughen their policy with regard to the Soviet Union?

I think not. The Democrats will look hopefully and optimistically towards a treaty next summer reducing the strategic offensive weapons. A situation is likely to arise where, again, Democratic senators and presidential candidates will support a reduction of nuclear arsenals, while part of the Republicans will attack a treaty on strategic offensive weapons and try to wreck it.

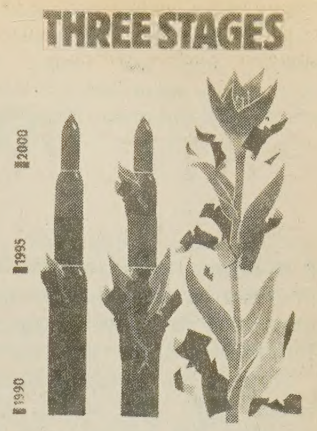
Democrats as well as Republicans support a reduction in conventional weapons in Europe, but only such a reduction that will result in parity between the forces of the Warsaw Pact and NATO. In our view, the Warsaw Treaty states have a considerable superiority in conventional arms. For this reason we are not interested in directly proportional cuts.

Our party generally favours a reduction of military expenditure. The United States should have sufficient military power to feel confident internationally. We agree with the Republicans in this respect. But, as distinct from the Republicans, we think that arms production should not be expanded to the detriment of the social sphere, health service and education.

As far as I know, you are not only a politician but also a businessman. Would you comment on two views about the economic consequences of disarmament? Some people think that disarmament will be conducive to a general improvement of the economic situation in the world, whereas others claim that the destruction of nuclear weapons is so expensive that it would be profitable just to keep them in storage.

I'm a businessman, not an economist. Nevertheless, I think that however expensive the scrapping of nuclear missiles and systems may be, it is cheaper than the building of new ones. The old weapons are not simply dumped. They are stored, kept in safety and repaired so that these obsolete systems could be used when necessary. This costs money, of course. I agree that the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles will require additional expenditure in the next few years. However, the money we'll save will be more than enough to cover the expenses.

Besides, only a small portion of the nuclear arsenals is to be reduced. It is hardly possible to expect any considerable saving from this measure. It will be different if we manage to achieve a 50 per cent reduction in the strategic offensive weapons. For the more powerful the weapons, the more expensive it is to maintain them and keep them in combat readiness. The economic impact of a 50 per cent reduction in the strategic offensive weapons will be felt, I think, within two or three years, provided this measure does not escalate the conventional arms race.



Donald Sundquist:

"The INF agreement is a good start"

Only a month has passed since the conclusion of the INF treaty, and it has not yet been ratified. Nevertheless, some people already say that this stage of a constructive Soviet-U.S. dialogue is bound to end in the same way as the détente of the 1970s which was followed by a long period of tension.

Our mistake was that, having concentrated on arms control issues, we left other issues aside. As a result, good relations between our countries gradually transformed into bad relations.

I think the INF agreement is a good start. By strengthening trust we shall be able to solve other problems. An open dialogue between the two superpowers, frank relations between them have a favourable impact on the international situation. But, moving towards a reduction of nuclear armaments, we should not lose sight of conventional arms, chemical weapons, scientific exchanges and humanitarian issues.

How will the ratification proceed in the Senate?

The ratification will certainly take some time. The treaty will have to be discussed in the committees and then in the Senate. But I'm confident that it will be ratified. The structure of our Senate is such that one or several members disagreeing with the treaty can procrastinate the discussion of it. But, being in the minority, they will be unable to scupper it.

How do you see the further advance of our countries towards arms reduction?

As for a treaty on 50 per cent reduction in the strategic offensive weapons, both sides declared in Washington that they would like to sign it during the U.S. President's return visit to Moscow. Frankly speaking, I'm not very much sure that our diplomats will be able to finish these complicated talks by the set time. But I know that the world will be disappointed if we fail to bring the matter to the conclusion. Therefore the treaty must be concluded, even if a little later.

I think there is also certain progress in the talks on chemical weapons. However, the problem of conventional arms in Europe is becoming important, too, because it directly concerns all members of both blocs in the continent. Besides, don't forget that vast sums are spent on these types of armaments.

There have been different reactions in Western Europe to the agreement on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles.

Voices of discontent were heard when nuclear weapons were installed in the territories of our allies, and signs of anxiety appeared when an agreement was reached on eliminating these weapons

from Europe. This anxiety can be removed only by a substantial reduction of conventional arms and troops. The drafting of such an agreement will require much effort. It has to provide for effective verification measures, as has been done in the INF treaty. It will be even more difficult to work out such measures for conventional armaments. ■

The programme advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev on January 15, 1986 included a provision for banning nuclear tests. At their Washington summit the two leaders agreed on steps to ratify the 1974 Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests and the 1976 Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes. With that done, our two countries could proceed to coordinating the subsequent test limitations, the ultimate objective being to stop all nuclear testing in both countries.

New Times follows with an article by the American journalist Norman Solomon, co-author of the book "Killing Our Own: The Disaster of America's Experience with Atomic Radiation."

In search of a clean arms race

Thirty years ago, President Dwight Einsenhower emerged from a meeting with American scientists and announced that they were working on "the production of clean bombs." Ike declared that experts were telling him, "give us four or five more years to test each step of our development and we will produce an absolutely clean bomb." So, he explained, the United States was actually continuing with nuclear detonations "to see how clean we can make them."

To many people worried about the fallout from American and Soviet tests blanketing the globe with radioactivity in 1957, Eisenhower's announcement may have sounded good.

So, for five more years, large-scale nuclear tests continued in the atmosphere. All over the world, people consumed dairy products laced with strontium-90 and other radioactive isotopes.

Finally, in 1963, with a "clean bomb" nowhere in sight, common sense prevailed over nonsense. The Limited Test Ban Treaty sent the superpowers' nuclear tests underground. It was a monumental public health measure. But the nuclear arms race went on.

We had learned enough to stop sprinkling enormous quantities of deadly fallout across the Earth. But we hadn't interfered with the underlying illusions that somehow nuclear "progress" could make us more secure.

Changing direction is often extremely difficult for an individual, let alone a country - so developing a clean arms race might seem to be an easier option.

It's not enough to recognize this truth. The recognition must be accompanied by action and drastic change.

When I hear about nuclear testing, I think about its victims I've interviewed - native people of the Marshall Islands; residents of Utah, Nevada and Arizona; American "atomic veterans"; workers at the Nevada Test Site. They happened to be in the wrong places at the wrong times. Lights "brighter than a thousand suns" flashed; mushroom clouds rose nearby. Official assurances were made as to safety and health. The leukemia, cancer and birth defects came later.

Underground nuclear tests may be a "cleaner" way to prepare new weaponry for the annihilation of humanity. Yet, even so, radiation leaks or a major accident are always possible whenever any subsurface nuclear explosion occurs.

People who support continuation of underground testing as some kind of security process are making peace with nuclear-war preparations. Many attempts have been made at justification - new versions of the "clean bomb" myth.

But the fact remains that the nuclear arms race will continue as long as nuclear tests do.

Tragically, from mid-1985 to early 1987, the U.S. government declined to reciprocate one of the most profound initiatives for true international security in human history - the Soviet Union's 19-month moratorium on nuclear tests. It would have turned into a permanent ban, if only the White House had been willing to join in a higher level of rationality.

Unfortunately, President Reagan has felt wedded to a new myth requiring many more nuclear test explosions in the "clean bomb" tradition - a Star Wars "space shield."

Those who champion the Strategic Defence Initiative are ignoring the profound truth of Albert Einstein's statement 40 years ago, describing the crucial reality of the nuclear age: "There is no secret and there is no defence (against nuclear war - **N.S.**), there is no possibility of control except through the aroused understanding and insistence of the peoples of the world."

The illusion of nuclear defence that Einstein warned against is central to the SDI gospel according to Ronald Reagan. It's a tract long on faith but short on reason.

Grasping the imperatives of the post-Hiroshima world, Einstein implored us to discard "the outmoded concept of narrow nationalisms" - because he understood that in the long run no other course can offer real security for any nation.

Overarching, across any superpower great divide, is the spectre of nuclear destruction that we set aside in order to go on with our daily lives. Yet it's not certain that any of us - Soviets, Americans or anyone else - will have daily lives in the future. That is our common curse. And perhaps, a common bond.

Assurance that human life will continue on this planet has dissipated with the "progress" of the nuclear era. We must get it back.

We can't do so by resolving to create "clean bombs" or "space shields."

With humanity's survival at issue, illusion is still an option. But so is wisdom. ■

Two approaches

DMITRY ZGERSKY

Washington's warning to Tel Aviv

Reports from Israeli-occupied territories during the first days of January seemed to indicate that unrest was subsiding. But then on January 3 a Palestinian woman was shot, which led to a new wave of protest and repressive action. What added fuel to the flames was the decision of the Israeli authorities to deport nine Palestinians - lawyers, teachers and religious leaders.

What is probably important at present is not whether the protest movement will subside or increase, but the fact that what is taking place on the occupied territories is actually a continuous revolt, which can hardly end until the lawful rights of the Arabs are restored.

It is common knowledge that the positions of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. on a Middle East settlement differ in principle. Especially, when it comes to the unlawful actions of Israel on the occupied territories.

But on January 7 the United States voted at the U.N. Security Council for a resolution calling on Israel to refrain from the deportation of peaceful Palestinians from the occupied territories. Israel's representative at the United Nations Benjamin Netanyahu described the Security Council decision as unfair play.

But the fact remains: the U.S. voted against its strategic ally in the Middle East. Britain too voted against it, which is a very rare occurrence. It will be remembered that in 1981, the U.S. voted for a resolution that condemned the Israeli attack on an Iraqi nuclear reactor, and for a resolution against the annexation of the Golan Heights.

In view of the special relations between Washington and Tel Aviv it is hard to expect that the two allies are happy to vote against one another in critical situations. Thus, only recently - on December 22 - Washington abstained when the Security Council first criticized Israel and adopted a resolution condemning the occupation forces' use of live bullets against the Palestinians. The U.S. abstained when the matter involved the use of arms, but voted for the protest against the deportation of Palestinians. Strange, isn't it?

Well, deportation of civilians is also unlawful. For Palestinians on the occupied lands are under the protection of the Geneva convention of August 12, 1948, which obliges Israel to respect their rights.

The impression is that the United States stood firm as long as it could in the hope that the revolt would die down, which is what happened in the past. But it did not happen this time. The U.S. could no longer maintain silence and abstain from voting. So the U.S. delegate voted for the Security Council resolution. Washington's action can only be welcomed. Moreover, one could only hope such unanimity in solving acute world problems would be more frequent.

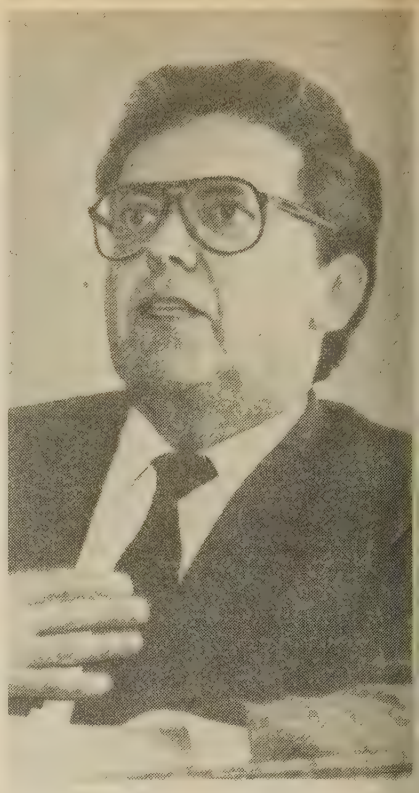
And yet I can't quite dismiss the idea that in voting against the Israeli action, the United States seemed to signal to its ally: don't go too far, things are taking a serious turn. The present upsurge of the unrest among Palestinian Arabs demonstrates how essential it is to find a speedy solution to their problem. Two approaches to such a solution are on the agenda: the Soviet approach, which takes into account the interests and security of all peoples and countries in the region; and the American approach, which clearly leans in favour of Israel, to the detriment of the interests of the Palestinian Arabs. The past year has shown that the Soviet plan for a settlement, which in many respects coinsides with the Arab plan adopted in Fez, is winning increasing support in the world. Not only some of U.S. European allies, but certain prominent statesmen in Israel, acknowledged that the plan deserves the most careful study. Apparently the United States has come to realize that the present events on the occupied territories could prove a weighty argument in favour of the constructive plan backed by the Soviet Union. On January 5, Vice-President George Bush stated bluntly that Washington was against any Middle East forum at which the leading role could pass to the Soviet Union.

There is also another factor. This is the year of presidential elections in the United States. So naturally the Republican Party is interested in winning over the very influential pro-Israeli lobby. At a first glance, support for the anti-Israeli resolution in the Security Council might seem a risky step. But press reports indicate that American Jews have been shocked by TV reports from the occupied territories.

In other words, pragmatism is evident all around. Well, let's also take a pragmatic view. Just imagine how advantageous it would be for the United States to don the robe of a real peacemaker in the Middle East, using its influence with Israel to persuade it to take part in an international conference with the PLO and other interested parties. To defend the rights of the Palestinian Arabs and to help them achieve the formation of an independent state. To ensure the security of the entire region under U.N. auspices. The dividends would be immense. And it isn't important who originally put the initiative forward, when it is a question of defusing an acute conflict situation.

Concerning the "third basket"

An interview with ANATOLY ADAMISHIN, Deputy Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R.



New Times: Since the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, humanitarian issues have been referred to in international journalism as the "third basket." What place do these issues occupy in the practical activities of the U.S.S.R. Foreign Ministry and how are they related to the processes of perestroika and democratization?

Anatoly Adamishin: It is now distinctly obvious that our foreign policies are undergoing serious changes which are more closely connected with domestic policies than at any other time in the past. Acceleration and renewal of economic and social development in every aspect of public life, through its broad democratization, are putting the issues of cooperation in humanitarian fields in a new light as well. Of course, the subject of human rights in state-to-state relations has been raised before. But more often than not those debates took the beaten and senseless path of trading charges. International forums that were established, seemingly to build trust, were instead turned into arenas for mutual recrimination and exchanges of propaganda blows.

The new development in international politics of humanitarian fields has been, to my mind, the Soviet Union's persistent desire to secure a changeover from confrontation to this ever more significant area of constructive cooperation.

N.T.: And is it possible in principle to broaden and maintain such cooperation between states with different social systems?

A.A.: This question is only natural: the concepts are too far apart and the approaches too dissimilar. This area is too heavily mined with ideological disparities. But the new manner of thinking, which is based on the priority of universally shared human values, offers a possibility to look for and find more points of contact. We are not starting from scratch: there already are highly important international accords on this subject. Mikhail Gorbachev once said: "Must we shoot each other only because we are different?" Elaborating on the idea, he added that the difference could be exploited to mutual benefit. Humanitarian issues are now being given a proper place in Soviet policies, which they have probably not had before. It is not by chance that in the fundamental idea put forward jointly by socialist countries - to create a comprehensive system of international security - humanitarian cooperation is equated with such fields as the art of war, politics, economics, and environment protection. It is a sign of the times, as well, that the proposal made at the Vienna Review Meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe for convening a forum on humanitarian problems came from the Soviet Union.

The U.S.S.R. is in favour of businesslike discussion in Moscow on the whole gamut of humanitarian issues, and discussion resulting in practical decisions that would lead to actual improvements in the human rights situation of all participating nations. We are prepared to display the maximum of good will and are open to cooperation and, if you like, to criticism. But we can make our comments without pulling any punches as well, within the framework of a constructive exchange of opinions.

If our Western partners accept the Soviet proposal (and so far, alas, they have said neither yes nor no), they will be able to see for themselves that the Soviet Union, starting with itself, stands in deed as well as in word for an overhaul of international cooperation in the humanitarian area, and that this country is starting with itself in this respect.

N.T.: Judging by our mail, our readers, especially those abroad, take a lively interest in the issues of social security for Soviet people and the broadening of their rights and democratic freedoms. What is being done along these lines?

A.A.: The most striking examples are right there before everyone's eyes: the Law on State Enterprise, the ground swell of co-ops and individual labour projects, and a great deal of statutes to enhance socialist legality. The formalities connected with trips to socialist countries have been simplified and mechanisms for contacts between these nations are in general being streamlined. The total elimination of the superfluous bureaucratic procedures involved in obtaining a visa to go abroad is anticipated.

There is news in the fields in which the West chooses to attack us. As new regulations concerning entry in and exit from the U.S.S.R. were adopted and the backlog of requests for visas cleared, the number of Soviet citizens going abroad either for permanent residence or for

visit increased several times in 1987. As matter of fact, those denied exit because state security considerations make up nerally an infinitesimal part of the overall mber who leave. There are no longer y restrictions on mutual visits by Soviet tionals and people who left this country rlier for Israel, on condition that they ve been admitted to citizenship by tes with which the Soviet Union has plomatic relations.

Humanitarian acts have been legally dopted, including an Amnesty Decree in nnection with the 70th anniversary of e October revolution, and various dividual decrees on pardons and scharges from prison. The jamming of number of Western radio services has en stopped, and work is under way to prove the medical treatment and keep of the mentally ill. Significantly, all ental clinics will now be run by the ealth Ministry and provisions have been ade to protect the patients' rights and gnity properly.

These new developments are only fraction of the work now under way in s country. Our positions on internatio- al humanitarian cooperation are, un- erstandably, growing stronger as a re- lt.

N.T.: Does this mean that there is thing but applause from abroad for what e're doing?

A.A.: There has been mixed response om abroad. Along with the widely vourable response, there are, as before, peculative comments. One has to stress gain and again: democratization in the .S.S.R. is taking place not because we ant to curry favour with anybody. And ot because they are "pressuring" s. Converting constitutional norms to ractical legislation, altering a number of rovisions in already effective laws and ancelling various outdated instructions - ll have been needed primarily for urselves, to make life in this country fully orrespond to the principles and ideals of ocialist democracy.

The aspiration to capitalize on "critical," elicate issues and comments such as Let's put pressure on the Soviet Union nd it will mend its ways" prompt a natural esire to issue a rebuff and to remind the ther side of the old maxim saying: When in Rome, do as the Romans do."

N.T.: Can it be said that a breakthrough as taken place, a real shift for the better in nternational humanitarian cooperation?

A.A.: It is closer to a change of tone. For nstance, the nature of the Soviet-merican dialogue on human rights is hanging. Outlines of cooperation have merged in areas where we both have uite a few problems: the fight with drug ddiction, alcoholism or AIDS, for example. I shall not compare the dimensions of these problems in the two countries, but the pooling of efforts can bring mutual benefit. The idea that we've been suggesting to the Americans is very simple: let's start cooperating rather than continue bickering. Practical ideas on this score were voiced by Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee during his recent visit to the U.S. They now must be realized.

Consider the issues of mutual acquaintance with legislative acts and the history and practice of their drafting and invocation. Absolutely "thick" provisions will become obvious when you become more familiar with U.S. laws. It will perhaps help upgrade their legislation if we call them to the attention of our American colleagues. The Soviet viewpoint, at any rate, has been brought to their notice in no uncertain terms and the Americans in principle accept that the exchange of opinion on humanitarian matters is a two-way street.

LET'S START COOPERATING RATHER THAN CONTINUE BICKERING!

The Americans are known to have a penchant for reproaching us for what, according to them, is too much concern for protecting our state secrets. But their own secrets, for example, scientific and especially military ones, are guarded zealously. Just remember the commotion they raise every time they discover that high technology, in their opinion, is supplied to socialist countries! When we tell them about all this, they ask in surprise: "But are COCOM restrictions a humanitarian problem? Why do you link human rights with trade?" In reply we remind them of this curious fact: the first U.S. congressional resolution linking emigration from Russia with Russo-American trade is dated 1911! It has been a kind of forerunner for the current discriminatory Jackson-Vanik amendment. So who is reconciling what? In this kind of debate U.S. officials eventually concede that the problem does exist and even hint that some of the COCOM "rules" limiting trade with socialist nations will be mitigated. Time will tell.

N.T.: The impression sometimes is that the Western world knows more about our problems - they are constantly in the focus of attention of their mass media...

A.A.: You're right. It's a purely "selective" method that is played there. Western services pick out subjects advantageous to them and declare these to be highly important for all and they concentrate propaganda efforts on them most skillfully, I must admit. In the field of human rights they've got a "fix" on civil rights, and even more narrowly - on emigration. All the other issues of human rights and the conditions of life are deliberately sidestepped. To wit: emphasis is on the issues that do not call for, so to say, material inputs by authorities, while the questions of ensuring the rights to work, housing and medical assistance are either passed over in silence or covered up with lame excuses.

If one looks at everything associated with social security, one can see that socialism has already done a better job than capitalism in resolving a number of problems of vital significance to the general population and to working people. Our society allocates vast funds for these purposes. In short, we are up against the bourgeois concept of human rights proclaimed the ultimate truth. It is impossible to believe that this is what mankind ultimately can and wants to achieve. If they don't climb onto the pulpit and lecture us on their way of life, which they think is the only one possible, then it will be possible to develop cooperation in diverse humanitarian fields with greater success.

N.T.: Let's get back to our problems. Could it be said that we need a new mechanism for ensuring human rights and solving humanitarian problems?

A.A.: Definitely. And this kind of mechanism is already being built. In particular, the Law on Procedures for Appeal Against Actions by Officials, which took effect on January 1, 1988, should substantially extend the practical guarantees of restoring human rights in case they've been violated. In the middle of last year the Commission on Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet began considering complaints by individuals denied visas to leave the country. This is a new development. The commission has already made many favourable decisions on such cases, thereby disagreeing with the relevant conclusions by appropriate agencies and supporting the plaintiffs challenging those conclusions. A public commission on human rights was formed recently as well and is led by well-known publicist Fyodor Burlatsky.

Our diplomatic service has really come down to the issues of human rights, too. The U.S.S.R. Foreign Ministry now has a new structural unit - the Directorate on Humanitarian and Cultural Relations.

N.T.: Informal associations of every type are growing like mushrooms in this country, on the crest of the glasnost wave. Foreign radio services and the press have been paying close attention to some of

them, in particular the press club "Glasnost" which recently held a "seminar on humanitarian problems" in Moscow. It would be interesting to know your attitude towards such associations.

A.A.: Someone else should answer that question. But rather than avoid giving my opinion, I shall say that the crux of the matter here is whether the activities of such organizations correspond to the constitutional, legal framework or not. From this point of view, the "seminar" you mentioned and in general the activities of the "press club" with a name which assumes great responsibility, have, to my mind, been questionable. What are they really looking for? Is it human rights or are they making a name for themselves with certain factions in the West to give them extra possibilities for propaganda attacks against perestroika?

N.T.: There are many "public watchdog groups" active abroad. The widely-known "Amnesty International," for example....

A.A.: "Amnesty" claims to be instrumental in protecting human rights in the world. And that organization has indeed made a certain contribution to exposing violations of humanitarian rights, say, in Chile and South Africa. But when it comes to socialist countries, it appears to be still under the spell of dogmas and notions dating back to the "cold war."

N.T.: Our own stereotypes in the humanitarian field are apparently still strong. But they, too, seem to be losing ground - such is the demand of the times.

A.A.: I'll tell you an inside secret: Foreign Ministry staff responsible for humanitarian cooperation are often criticized for lagging behind our colleagues working on, say, disarmament problems. Just think of the breakthrough achieved there with the signature of the INF treaty which is, without exaggeration, a historic document! The way it has resolved the issues of verification and inspection on a drastically new, innovative basis advocated by the Soviet Union has raised the questions of trust in international relations in general to a new level. And this treaty is the most impressive example, but not the only one, of progress in that field. So in order to "catch up" in the humanitarian area, foster the same atmosphere of trust there that is beginning to shape in the field of disarmament, and convince our partners that this constructive cooperation meets their interests as well, we ourselves shall apparently have to abandon more than one deep-seated, but outdated notion. Let me conclude with what I started: our domestic processes, perestroika, democratization and the broadly-based and interested public discussions of problems, of which forbidden subjects are becoming fewer, offer both the foundation and the main impulse for making headway in every field of foreign policy activity.

Interviewed by
ALEXEI BUKALOV

BRITAIN - AFRICA

Thatcher's African tour

MARGARET THATCHER'S FIRST VISIT ABROAD THIS YEAR WAS TO KENYA AND NIGERIA.

What is the reason for London's pointed interest in Africa and why did Margaret Thatcher decide to visit precisely these countries? Some commentators are of the opinion that the Conservatives want to pursue a more active foreign policy and, in particular, to play the role of mediator in international affairs.

High on the world agenda today is the problem of settling the conflict in southern Africa. If the British politicians really want to play the role of peacemaker in that hot spot of the world, why not take a flexible stand on the question of sanctions against the apartheid regime? It seems evident that without economic aid, and in the conditions of political isolation, Pretoria would be compelled to revise both its foreign policy and domestic order.

But this time, too, Margaret Thatcher stuck to her guns, alleging that sanctions couldn't abolish the apartheid system and would merely place a heavy burden on the South African workers. It may be that the Prime Minister showed touching concern for blacks not just for propaganda purposes. But we are accustomed to hearing politicians say what they do not think.

For instance, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, whose expers boast that British policy makers heed their opinions, simply disdain propagandist metaphors. One of their papers says that neither Britain nor the West as a whole can be interested in the division of power between blacks and whites in South Africa. President Botha and Western leaders have not only common economic interests but also common geopolitical objectives. In particular, NATO is concerned about the waterways between the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic.

Another purpose of Margaret Thatcher's African trip was announced. London's reluctance to listen to the opinion of other Commonwealth nations, who insist on sanctions against the apartheid regime, could not but undermine the prestige of Britain in its former colonies, especially in Africa.

Nairobi had the honour to be the first to welcome the distinguished guest, though geographically Lagos is closer to London. The visit to Kenya went smoothly, as was predicted by the Prime Minister's aides. It could not be otherwise, because in the past few years Britain has written off Kenya's debt of nearly 70 million pounds and has now granted it credit for another 20 million pounds. Kenya's President Daniel arap Moi again declared his determination to fight apartheid by sanctions. However, both parties remained pleased with each other and described the visit as historic and exceptionally successful.

It does not take much time to fly along the equator from the Indian to the Atlantic coast. But for the British government delegation it was a difficult flight. The British press warned the Prime Minister on the eve of the visit that in Nigeria she would be booed by anti-apartheid demonstrators. It also became known that Lagos had grudgingly sent an invitation to Downing Street, only after London's insistent request.

There are quite a few problems in the relations between Britain and Nigeria: sanctions against Pretoria, British military aid to the UNITA bands fighting in Angola, the granting of political asylum to corrupt Nigerian officials like Umaru Dikko, and economic differences concerning oil marketing and Nigeria's foreign debt.

Nevertheless, Margaret Thatcher essentially had to go to Nigeria. It is one of the largest and richest countries in the region and an important market for British goods, accounting for 36 per cent of Britain's export to Africa.

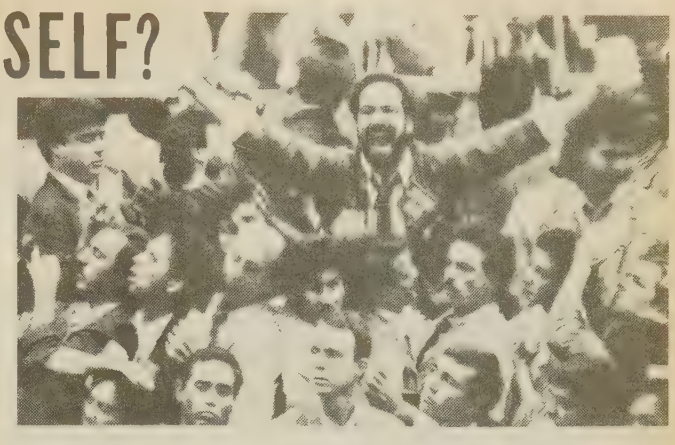
It seems unlikely, however, that Margaret Thatcher's visit has helped to bring the positions of Britian and the main African oil exporter closer on fundamental issues. It is believed that London no longer has grounds to take pride in its abilities as mediator. No progress was made in solving southern Africa's problems.

On returning to London, Margaret Thatcher boastingly announced that she had not budged from her position regarding the inexpediency of imposing sanctions on South Africa. A number of British experts wonder at this: since the Prime Minister firmly rejects sanctions, why couldn't she go to the frontline states, which have suffered most from South Africa's aggression, and assure them of British moral and economic support? It would be at least minimal compensation for London's virtual complicity with the apartheid policy.

YURI KUDIMOV

HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF?

Capitalism faces a new recession



FELIX GORYUNOV,
New Times economic analyst

A gusty wind blowing from the Alps and heavy rain lashing against the window betokened an unexpected cold spell on the banks of Lake of Geneva. It was warm in the comfortable spacious office of Richard Blackhurst, director of economic research and analysis of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The leading GATT economist spoke with confidence, trying to dispel my fears that, following the stock market crash last October, the capitalist economy will relapse into a prolonged depression, as it happened after the Wall Street crash in 1929.

"The Great Depression of the 1930s was a good lesson for all of us," Richard Blackhurst said. "It should be remembered, however, that it was caused not by the stock market crash on Wall Street, but by the economic policy of governments in the period following the crash. As a result of this policy, what would have been a modest recession grew into the Great Depression. Politicians around the world, including politicians in the American Congress, are now aware of that."

Having mentioned congressmen, Richard Blackhurst smiled, and continued: "A really bad economic policy is needed for the past to be repeated, for a severe recession to occur. Whether we shall have a mild or serious recession, or no recession at all, economic theory can't answer. So, I think, we can be optimistic if, of course, the mistakes of the past are not repeated."

A mortal blow

The changes that shake the foundations of society are often remembered by the most impressive events of the time, although the latter are not the cause of these changes. October 24, 1929, went down in the history of 20th-century capitalism as Black Thursday, because a sharp fall in stock prices was registered on Wall Street on that day. It was followed by Black Tuesday on October 29, when, in the apt expression of financiers of that time, "the bottom was thought to have dropped out of the market."

The stock market crash touched off a deep crisis, widely known as the Great Depression, although it reached its highest point only three years later. In the opinion of most Western economists, it became "great" because the financial losses caused by the plummeting stock prices were aggravated by the government's credit restrictions and protectionist measures in foreign trade. As a result, the crisis spread to all branches of the U.S. economy.

Mob psychology also played its part at that time. It is a well known but almost unpredictable economic factor. "I can calculate the motions of the heavenly bodies, but not the madness of people," Isaac Newton noted two and a half centuries ago, after he had sold the inflated stock of the South Seas company at a profit. When the stock exchange prices tumble, even illiterate people hasten to get rid of their shares. The psychology of employers, the main subjects of capitalist production, is also quite predictable in similar conditions.

After the funds of companies had dwindled following the stock price decline in the late 1929 and it had become risky to increase them through bank credits because of the high lending rate set by the Federal Reserve System, the industrialists had no option but to curtail output, fire part of the workers, and cut the wages of the rest. Otherwise, they would go broke, because no aid was forthcoming from the government.

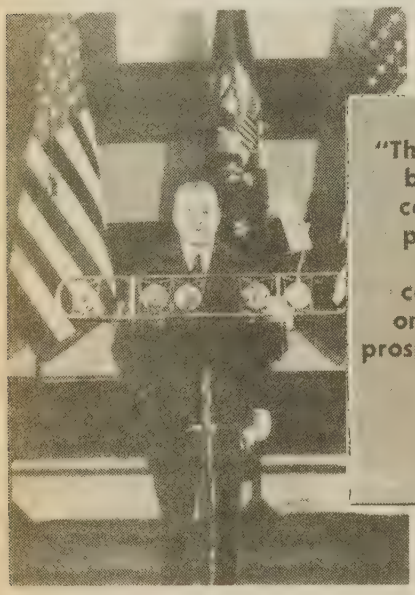
President Herbert Hoover firmly believed that the companies going broke should get out of debt by themselves, while Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon, who was a millionaire himself, said that in order to achieve economic recovery the country needed "to liquidate labour, liquidate stock, liquidate the farmers, liquidate real estate." Both thought that all this would be done by the "invisible hand" of the market.

Meanwhile alarm signals came from the market even before the Wall Street disaster. The "prosperity" of the 1920s, which excited financiers and stock exchange speculators, had already been undermined by a decline in the purchasing capacity of the majority of American working people. "In consequence, continued prosperity depended on continuing high investment expenditures by business, continuing high consumer expenditures by the affluent," the well-known American economist John

Reproduced from Business Week (U.S.A.)

K. Galbraith noted. "The stock market crash struck a mortal blow at both."

Although by May 1930 the stock prices had reached the previous high for a time, the spreading of the crisis throughout the capitalist world could no longer be stopped. By 1933, compared with 1929, the industrial output of the capitalist world had dropped by 46 per cent, the incomes of the population by 58 per cent, and joint



stock capital by 70 per cent. Over 30 million people, or a quarter of those employed, were out of work. More than 100,000 firms and half of all banks went broke in the United States alone. It was not until the second world war began that America overcame the postcrisis stagnation in the economy.

"The Great Depression is the most important event in the century so far - at least for Americans," John K. Galbraith wrote. "Neither of the two wars had a similar effect on so many." For the West Europeans it became the prologue to the second world war. Frightened by the danger of the social cataclysm growing into another "Bolshevik revolution," the German bourgeoisie supported fascism, and the working class of Germany, divided by Stalin's slogan "Those who don't side with us are against us," was unable to prevent Hitler coming to power.

The opposite effect of wealth

Can the present situation in the capitalist economy be viewed in the light of the cause-and-effect relationship of 58 years? The three months that have passed since the stock market crash on October 19, 1987, is too short a period to determine its long-term effect on economic and social processes in the capitalist world.

The "slump barometer" that is regularly published by the London weekly The Economist since the end of October has not indicated "cloudy" yet. Most American economists like Richard Blackhurst take an optimistic view of the market situation, and only 13 per cent of them predict a prolonged depression. Though the Cassandras are in the minority, they have more than enough grounds for gloomy forecasts.

"The fundamental business of the country, that is, production and distribution of commodities, is on a sound and prosperous basis."

U.S. President Herbert Hoover October 24, 1929

"The American economy is sound and strong. Our historic, even astonishing growth is continuing."

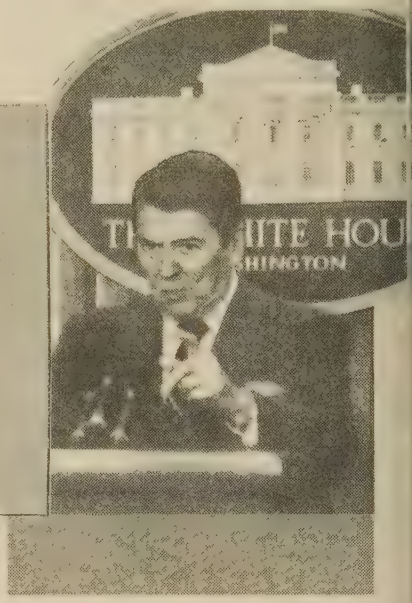
U.S. President Ronald Reagan October 24, 1987

"What happened on October 19 was an earthquake, not simply a shock," Business Week pointed out. "Even if the market recovers, confidence has been so damaged that slump will be hard to avoid."

The crash on Wall Street has undermined not only the confidence of business but also the financial basis of economic growth in the United States. During the economic upturn after the 1980-82 recession the U.S. stock capital increased by 2.2 trillion dollars, slightly less than half the gross national product. Following the stock price decline between August and October of last year, the American stockholders lost over one trillion dollars, or a third of stock capital. Such a loss will inevitably compel the U.S. corporations to curtail investment.

Consumer demand will fall too. In the opinion of Business Week, it is expected to drop by 45 billion dollars in the next few months. In the 1980s the growth of demand has been attributed mainly to the expenditure of the well-off minority, 47 million stockholders and rentiers whose prosperity is ensured by Reaganomics. For instance, their interest incomes from securities ran to over 500 billion dollars in 1987. Thanks to Reaganomics, the living standards of the upper middle class have been rising on the average six per cent a year, or double the growth rate of the economy as a whole. Thus, as in 1929, the stock market crash seriously affected the demand of the affluent Americans - another factor of high business activity.

The loss of "the wealth effect," as th influence of the high demand of well-o Americans has been described, is ver painful for the U.S. economy because th real incomes of factory and office worke have not increased since the early 1970 According to the Bureau of Labo Statistics, the average real wage wa 167 dollars a week in October 198 compared with 184 dollars 20 years ag



This average statistical figure reflects th qualitative changes in the incomes c American workers over the past 20 years changes brought about by shifts in th employment pattern.

The Reagan administration boasts c having created 13 million jobs in the pas five years. However, in the manufacturin industry the work force has increased onl by 1.1 million, with the other jobs ap pearing mainly in the services industrie where the earnings make up 50 to 70 pe cent of the wages paid in material good industries. It was noted at the AFL-CI convention last October that the wages o 8.2 million people who began to work i the past ten years did not exceed 7,00 dollars per year, 4,000 dollars below th official poverty line. In the 1980s th purchasing capacity of the working clas has not risen either in most West Europea countries, where its material position i affected by a considerably highe unemployment than in the U.S.A.

Thus, reviewing the present economi situation in the West, one can dra a parallel with the basic causes of th cyclical crisis of overproduction in th 1930s. In both cases the economic growt was hindered by the narrow social base o the capitalist mode of production. " comes to a standstill at a point fixed by th production and realization of profit, an not the satisfaction of requirements," Ka Marx pointed out in his "Capital."

Levels of cooperation

So that stops of this kind may not lead to an economic disaster, the ruling circles of the West devised in the postwar years various methods of retarding or accelerating the growth of national economies, described by economists as "fine tuning." The chief instruments of "fine tuning" are checking/stimulating business activity by high/low interest on bank credits or by high/low taxes, and financing the economy by state budget injections. Unemployment benefits are a socio-political guarantee against the ripening of the "grapes of wrath," as John Steinbeck called his famous novel about Americans suffering in the Great Depression.

The use of national instruments of an anti-crisis regulation, optimists say, will help avoid a recession on the scale registered in the 1930s, the more so that in the postwar years they have been supplemented by multilateral institutes for the regulation of international economic relations. They are: the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in the monetary and credit sphere, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in the trade sphere.

Every month the heads of central banks coordinate their financial policies under the auspices of the Bank for International Settlements in Basel. There is also a body of industrial capitalist nations - the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development - which analyzes tendencies in the economy and recommends optimal directions of economic policy.

Since 1975 the leaders of the Group of Seven (United States, West Germany, Britain, France, Italy, Canada and Japan) have been meeting every year to work out an economic strategy, while their finance ministers and central bank governors have been meeting even more frequently. And this in addition to regular meetings of industrialists, financiers and politicians of the West at the sessions of the Trilateral Commission, the World Economic Forum, the Bilderberg Club and other unofficial organizations which draw up common evaluations of approaches to world economic and political issues.

The stock market crash has intensified the activity of national and international institutions for anti-crisis regulation. Following the Wall Street tumble, the U.S. Federal Reserve System immediately increased the amount of money in circulation and cut bank interest rates. The financial bodies have established stricter control over banks, especially those whose plight may lead to a bankruptcy. Similar measures have been taken in other capitalist countries. When I arrived in Basel on December 8 last year in the hope of talking with economists from the Bank for International Settlements, I found all of them very busy. On that day the central bankers were discussing measures for supervision of capital base of private banks.

The finance ministers and central bank governors of the Group of Seven gave a Christmas present to the alarmed Western public on December 22. They reaffirmed their readiness to continue to carry forward their economic policy coordination and reemphasized their view "that the major external imbalances in the world economy must be corrected." The leading financiers of the Seven also "reaffirmed their determination to fight protectionism" in international trade and "their common interest in more stable exchange rates among their currencies."

"The degree of international cooperation is good enough to prevent a repeat of the great depression," Richard Blackhurst told me. "But I don't know whether it is adequate to reduce the imbalances in international trade as quickly as we would like or whether it is adequate to resolve the problem of perception in the private sector that the exchange rates are working very well."

"Rough tuning"

Economists are most of all concerned about the reaction of the private sector to the threat of a recession. They voiced their fears in a report "On the Global Crisis," hastily prepared by the Washington-based Institute for International Economics and research centres of 12 other capitalist countries. Thirty-three leading economists urgently called on the West to change its economic policy. Otherwise, they said, the pressure of international financial markets will sharply depreciate the dollar and trigger off a monetary crisis capable of leading to a global depression. "The central message of this report is that the (capitalist - **F.G.**) world does not have a further year in hand to wait for the U.S. election," declared Stephen Marris, co-author of the report and an economic adviser to the head of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

Why the U.S. election? The point is that the lowering of the dollar's exchange rate is the last trump card of the Republican administration. An even cheaper dollar, the Republican administration believes, will increase the competitive power of American goods and stimulate export industries. The recovery of these industries will help avoid a sharp fall in industrial production and retain the presidential post by the Republicans.

As we see, even in the present critical situation Washington's own concerns have proved more important than the common troubles of the West. Nevertheless, Washington blames Bonn and Tokyo for not adequately stimulating their economies in order to become the locomotives capable of pulling the world capitalist economy out of the next recession.

It is time to confess here that for many years this author has been trying to find contradictions between imperialist powers with such zeal that he nearly overlooked the contradictory results their accord and mutual assistance led to.

Three or four years ago most businessmen, politicians and economists in the West did not consider Reaganomics as dubious an economic policy as they rate it today. There were, indeed, good reasons for praising it. The Reagan administration was carrying out its promise of "rearming" the United States. Owing to the high interest on loans and the high exchange rate of the dollar, foreign investment and goods flowed to the United States. Tax privileges for corporations and income tax reductions helped augment the profits of industrialists and the demand of affluent Americans. At the same time Reaganites and employers compelled labour unions to "give backs" in wages, that froze the real incomes of the workers. In this way "the main enemy of society" in the 1970s - chronic inflation - was overcome. The deregulation of financial markets (the liberalization of credit and currency operations) spurred the stock market boom and speculation in fictitious capital.

It was the Reaganites' belief in the vast potentialities of the market which brought America back to the old good times of complete freedom for the chevaliers of fortune. The Reaganites gave up the "fine tuning" of the economy practised by the postwar administrations so that the Great Depression of the 1930s would not be repeated. The rapid growth of military expenditure became the principal means of stimulating the economy. The Reagan administration had no equals in such "rough tuning," though it did not invent anything new in this respect. It will be recalled that under President Harry Truman the cyclical crisis of the early 1950s was alleviated by the Korean war, while the escalation of the Vietnam venture under President Lyndon Johnson delayed the maturing recession till 1970. But the Reaganites did become pioneers in one respect - in extravagant spending, in the ability to pay for guns and butter at the expense of the West European NATO allies and Japan.

The allies footed the American bills until the wasteful Reaganomics created a serious threat for the monetary system of the West. Economists have long warned about this threat (see "The hangover of Reaganomics" in issue No. 13, 1987), but it was the stock markets, not politicians, who were the first to react to it.

(To be continued)

WHAT THE SETTLEMENT HINGES UPON

● Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's first trip abroad this year was a working visit to Afghanistan. Before leaving Kabul, he granted an interview to the Bakhtar agency. Several excerpts follow.

● We would like 1988 to be the last year of Soviet troops' presence in your country.

● Practically the whole package of relevant arrangements has already been agreed upon at the Afghan-Pakistani talks, which are now being conducted through a personal representative of the U.N. Secretary-General.

These talks are likely to be completed at the next round in February. If this happens, the obligation to stop outside interference will be activated. In accordance with the documents drawn up, this obligation will be guaranteed by the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. Notably, the American side is willing to act as a guarantor in the agreement and, accordingly, to stop aid to the armed groupings engaged in combat action in Afghanistan against the people's government.

It is precisely after this obligation comes into play that the withdrawal of the Soviet troops will begin.

● We shall withdraw from Afghanistan with a clean conscience and our duty fulfilled after outside interference has been stopped...

● The Afghan society is split. But now all the strata, groupings, factions, tribes and the clergy are invited - using the political means and methods traditional in Afghanistan - to find a common denominator of interest in the independent, sovereign, neutral and non-aligned Afghanistan to come.

● National reconciliation in Afghanistan, the road to which is open, can be achieved only by the Afghans themselves.

The road to Khost

Day after day columns of lorries escorted by armoured cars and infantry carriers move from Gardez to Khost. They are loaded with salt, sugar, oil, seeds, fertilizers, cement, fuel, and other necessities for the 40,000 inhabitants of the area. Prior to December 30 last year, when the first such convoy succeeded in covering the not so long distance between the two towns, all the roads leading to Khost, the centre of this frontier region, had been blocked for many years. Khost is situated close to the Pakistan border from the east. And from the west, from the direction of Gardez, the administrative centre of the Afghan province of Paktia, the area was cut off by territory controlled by the Pushtun Jadran tribe.

At first, the consequences of the blockade were more military and political than economic. Over numerous caravan routes the local population brought in from Pakistan what could not be delivered from the centre of Afghanistan.

As time went on the blockade began to make itself felt economically as well. The frontier was sealed off by Pakistan army and after the proclamation a year ago by the government of Afghanistan of the policy of national reconciliation this barrier was tightened still more in order to prevent the mass return of Afghan refugees to their homeland.

It also became increasingly difficult for the Afghan authorities to airlift prime necessities to Khost. The armed formations of Jadrans were supplied from Pakistan with American Stinger and British Blowpipe anti-aircraft missiles. Several Afghan civilian planes and helicopters were shot down in the Khost area. After which Afghan planes flew there only at night. The road from Gardez to Khost was cut off by the Jadrans.

The Jadrans

The Jadrans have played a tragic role in the history of the undeclared war unleashed by imperialism and regional reactionaries against the Republic of Afghanistan. By the time the policy of national reconciliation was proclaimed the counterrevolutionary forces had established one of their biggest bases of operations on the territory inhabited by this tribe.

The Jadrans, who are still at the tribal stage of social development, are estimated to number about 100,000. At any rate this tribe is bigger than the neighbouring ones, and even before the April revolution armed groups of Jadrans made nocturnal raids on the weaker tribes in the area. The Jadrans have traditionally been at loggerheads with the governmental authorities of Afghanistan, a fact which made it easier for the leaders of the counterrevolutionary movement to turn the tribe against the new government in Kabul - which, for that matter, was not free from mistakes - after April 1978.

The main occupation of the tribe is the felling and export of timber: the slopes of the Jadran range are rich in oak, beech and cedar forests. Formerly the Jadrans sold their timber in Gardez, now nearly all of its goes to Pakistan.

In recent years, in the context of the confrontation with the central authority, the power in the tribe has been taken over by the 45-year-old mullah Jallaluddin, an adherent of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan, which is headed by Yunus Khalis, presently the leader of the Union of the Seven counterrevolutionary organizations in Peshawar (Pakistan). Jallaluddin and the commanders of the armed detachments appointed by him have deprived the tribal elders of real power - the traditional mechanism of the Jirgah on the scale of the entire tribe is no longer operative.

Jallaluddin personally distributes the arms and equipment lavishly supplied from abroad. He also disposes of the financial subsidies provided the counterrevolutionaries - putting aside something for himself, of course. He has made a huge fortune in this way and has millions stowed away in banks in Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the F.R.G.

The Satu-Kandal Pass

For eight years - ever since 1979 when detachments of Jadrans destroyed an army convoy carrying Afghan government supplies on the Gardez-Khost highway - the stronghold of counterrevolution in the east of Afghanistan seemed to be invulnerable.

The territory occupied by the Jadrans was turned into an armed camp. Their combat detachments received the latest Western weaponry: recoilless guns, mobile anti-aircraft missile launchers,

machine guns, mines and even armoured carriers. Permanent fortifications were built at the Satu-Kandal Pass which controls the route from Gardez to Khost. All the approaches to the pass were studded with ingenious explosive devices. The counterrevolutionaries were confident that these heights were impregnable.

Kabul, however, decided to breach the blockade of Khost and restore communication with it in order to ensure a regular flow of supplies to the population. In mid-November units of the Afghan Army and the Soviet forces launched a joint operation, moving in from Gardez.

In late November the seemingly impregnable pass was taken in three days of fighting. The enemy fell back into the foothills. The advancing forces descended to the highway and prepared to press forward to Khost, outflanking the counterrevolutionary base area of Saran.

As regards the political aspect, the late November Loya Jirgah in Kabul which endorsed the Constitution of the Republic voted to give the Jadrans one more chance to agree to a peaceful settlement. It was decided to halt the hostilities for 20 days in order to renew the negotiations which had previously ended in failure.

The offer made to the Jadrans was a generous one: either to allow, in return for substantial payment, convoys carrying peaceful goods to pass along the road to Khost, or to undertake to deliver the goods themselves on a commercial basis - the Jadrans are not short of lorries. The authorities promised to render the tribe medical assistance and deliver food supplies to its villages.

However, the extremist leaders of the tribe rejected the offer. They considered it more profitable not to deprive themselves of the flow of subsidies from the "Peshawar Seven."

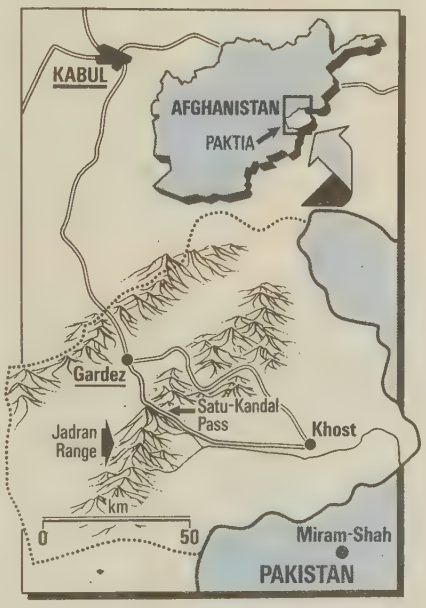
Major General Imamuddin, deputy chief of the general staff of the Afghan Army, whom I spoke with at a control and observation post, told me that on orders from the "seven" dushman bands had been brought in from other provinces during the cease-fire to reinforce the Jadrans. About thirty-five hundred men, according to our intelligence reports. Besides about a thousand "volunteers" had been mobilized from refugee camps in Pakistan. There was no dearth of money and promises.

The general said that, according to intelligence reports, some 400 foreign mercenaries - Pakistanis, Arabs, Frenchmen - operated on the side of the dushmans. They were hired at the dushman base at Miram-Shah and paid a substantial advance. With the dushman units were 85 "military advisers" from the U.S, France and other countries.

In the battle area I myself saw evidence of the active participation of foreigners in the "Jadran war."

Going through a deep gorge with a reconnaissance detail we came upon a well-equipped helicopter landing site (it is a well-known fact that the dushmans have no air force of their own). Next to it were crates that had contained Blowpipe missiles. Two buildings nearby had housed a hospital of 20 beds, it had clearly been hastily abandoned. Scattered about were boxes with medical equipment with Japanese, Belgian and French labels. Medicines, bandages and other dressing materials and medical handbooks in French lay around.

I leafed through a Paris edition of the novel by Alain Dubos, "The End of the Mandarins," with an inscription in Pushtu and French: "I hope, Max, that your mission in Afghanistan will be successful. Abdul Hussein." Judging by the chaos of the scene, Max's mission had not been successful.



The finale

The Jadran extremists used the cease-fire to set up new, heavily fortified positions. Nevertheless, apparently realizing, after the Satu-Kandal experience, that the base area could not be held, they pulled out many of their arms dumps from there.

When the cease-fire expired - this was in December - the Jadran fortifications were bombed and shelled. The forward units reached the crest of the hills and put the dushmans to flight; they left in such haste that at times the kettles in the dushman positions were still warm.

Your correspondent was with Senior Lieutenant Bondaruk's platoon when it made its way along the banks of a small river flowing through a gorge. The fighting here had died down several days earlier and the platoon was now searching for hidden arms stores. We took care not to stray from the footpath, for the gorge was crammed with mines. After two or three kilometres of clambering over fallen boulders we came to two large buildings on the mountainside. The ruins of one of them were still smoking. Beside the other was a wooden signboard in Pushtu reading: "Central Islamic Committee." This had been the headquarters of the Jadran extremists. Here were found the seal and letterheads of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan as well as numerous documents including lists of the members of the bands with the numbers of the weapons issued them. As had been the case beside the French hospital, there was a stone-paved helicopter landing slightly higher up on the slope. Beside the building scouts had collected the "trophies" they had found. There was a pile of 82-mm American mortar shells dated 1987; a gun, large-calibre machine guns and grenade throwers made in China, phosphorous rockets, mines with Arabic markings, and British gas masks.

Meanwhile the Afghan and Soviet forward units were mopping up the last kilometres of the road to Khost. At 3 p.m. on December 29 they linked up with units advancing from the opposite direction. And by the end of the following day the first convoy of food supplies entered Khost where it was received with rejoicing by the local inhabitants. All told, more than 23,000 tons of cargoes are to be sent from Gardez to the frontier area. But to make the road perfectly safe the base areas of the counterrevolution will have to be thoroughly cleared.

At the control and observation post representatives of the Soviet command gave me a summary of the initial results of the operation. Some 2,000 of the insurgents had been killed. The number of captured shells is estimated in the tens of thousands, of machine gun ammunition, in the hundreds of thousands, and of rifle ammunition, in the millions. An enormous number of mines were defused. Army engineers had repaired the damage done to the highway wrought by the dushmans.

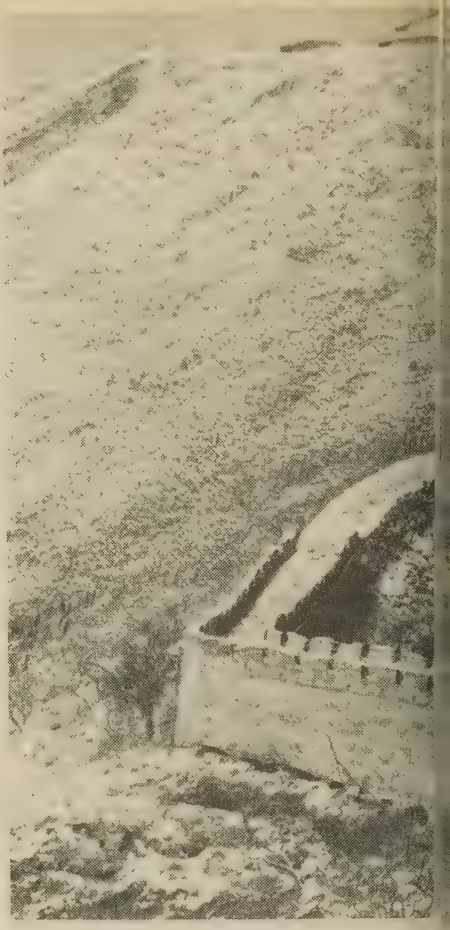
The armed insurgents who survived either fled to Pakistan where the Jadran population had been moved during the cease-fire or made their way to territories inhabited by the neighbouring tribes.

The Khost blockade has been lifted. But the Afghan authorities I spoke with in Gardez and Kabul are fully aware that it will take a great deal of effort to restore normal life in the tribal zone of Paktia, to establish peaceful relations with the population of the Jadran tribe and to isolate the extremist elements.

VADIM OKULOV

Gardez-Khost-Kabul

TAKING THE TIGER BY THE TAIL



From our special correspondent
SERGEI GOLYAKOV

SPEAKING AT A CONFERENCE OF THE MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY IN NOVEMBER 1984 CHINESE LEADER DENG XIAOPING USED THE ABOVE EXPRESSION TO DESCRIBE ANOTHER STAGE OF COMPREHENSIVE REFORMS IN THE COUNTRY. THE MOMENTUM, NOVELTY, AND DARING OF THE VENTURE ARE APTLY DESCRIBED BY THE FOLK SAYING.

China embarked on a path of reform nine years ago following the 3rd plenary meeting of the Communist Party's Central Committee of 11th convocation in December 1978. The plenary meeting set forth the task of intensively developing the production forces, thereby gradually improving the standard of living and generating socialist cultural wealth.

Over the past nine years impressive results have been achieved. Industrial output and production on the farms have nearly doubled and the GNP per capita of the population has risen from 250 dollars in 1980 to over 400 by early 1987. China's progress has, however, not been free of problems.

New Times political observer Sergei Golyakov recently visited China. With assistance from the courteous staff of the Beijing publishing house Shijie Zhishi he was able to visit Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai - China's three largest cities. This is the first in a series of his reports.

* * *

As soon as I step into the street I am surrounded by children. They come running from all over, look into my eyes and yell, "Sulian! Tongzhi! Ni Hao!" They tag after me until some grownup tells them to leave me alone and stop pulling at my clothes. They scamper away, but their cheerful greeting, "Good day, Soviet comrade!" keeps ringing in my ears.

That is a picture from a distant past. Thirty-three years ago I graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, and the Trans-Siberian express took me on my first foreign trip to China.

My travelling companions on the trai to Beijing were Soviet builders, smelters physicians, teachers, bridge- and shipbuil ders. They were travelling together wit their families to help our great neighbou achieve economic independence.

The Chinese revolution was in its sixt year. The country was extremely poor an backward. Hundreds of millions suffere from poverty, unemployment and hunge The average income of a farmer amounte to 70 yuans or 15 U.S. dollars a year. A industrial worker earned about the sam A plate of rice, without a drop of fat c a morsel of meat, was the midday mea A black padded jacket, a pair of trouse for winter and a blue cotton jacket fc summer were the only outfits. Once I sa a column of soldiers wearing what looke like slippers file past. Each had a was bucket on his back. It looked incongruou next to a rifle. There was a sprawlin community of boat people in Shangha a badly overpopulated city. Desperatel poor families took refuge in the thousanc of junks and sampans. Children crawle on the boat decks, wooden collars aroun their necks in case they fell overboar

The popular government was determ ned to build socialism, but there was n clear understanding of what socialis

should be like in China, or of how to go about building it. The country was groping its way by trial and error and very tragic mistakes were made. Many of them were due to leftist excesses that led up to the "great leap forward." Part of that ambitious campaign was to launch a mass movement to increase the production of cast iron and steel. Primitive kilns appeared in every yard. I could see one every day looking out the window of my flat in Shanghai. A man would load it up every morning with all kinds of metal junk and fire it using bellows. About three hours later he would take a hot ingot out of his "blast furnace." This was the technology of the "great leap forward."

The country instead took a great leap backward. Industrial output and production on the farms declined dramatically. There was a shortage of the barest necessities and malnutrition was rampant. Revolutionary enthusiasm began to subside. Aware of this the leadership of the Communist Party honestly told the people about the problems and abandoned the slogan of the "great leap forward."

In 1963 and 1964 things began to look better and the economy began to normalize. But in 1965 a campaign was launched in the country to purge the Party of the "people in power who have taken to capitalist ways." The "great cultural revolution" began, spelling unheard-of disaster.

These kids from a kindergarten in Jinghai are as yet unaware of how much perseverance, industry and ingenuity their forefathers needed to build this great wall.

One of the senior editors at Shijie Zhishi Publishers, Comrade Zhang, accompanied me on my journey. He remembers those days as a terrible nightmare. A graduate of the Foreign Languages Institute in Harbin he had worked at the Foreign Ministry for many years by the time the country had plunged into chaos. The Foreign Ministry was torn to pieces. Thousands of diplomats were sent for reeducation to the villages.

Comrade Zhang was sent to work on a farm that grew rice and tea. Local farmers were not allowed anywhere near the farm. Those sent down for "reeducation" worked from dawn to dusk taking short breaks to read Mao Zedong's works. There were primitive implements and draught animals in the villages, but they were not allowed to use them on the grounds that this would interfere with reeducation. All they were allowed was to break their backs in the fields and study Mao's famous red book.

Practically all universities and schools were closed down during the "cultural revolution." Young people who did not join the rampaging mobs were also banished to villages for reeducation. Comrade Zhang's two sons were among them. They were sent to two different parts of the country. A whole decade was erased from their lives.

Strange opinions gained currency in China at the time. People were told they must combat poverty and economic backwardness. A "poor socialism," they were told, "is better than a rich and abundant capitalism" and "weeds under socialism are better than ears of grain under capitalism." These were the slogans of the Gang of Four led by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing.

The ultra-leftist tendencies pulled the country backwards, aggravated poverty; they established deep roots over several decades and have become a habit with many people. Combating leftism remains a priority in China today.

Four plus four

It would be wrong to assume, though, that China remained in a state of chaos for decades on end after 1949. Compared to the period before the revolution life was changing for the beter steadily, albeit tortuously. In spite of the fact that the normal course of economic development was disrupted on many occasions, land reform was carried out and the income of farmers increased somewhat. The foundation was laid for nationalized industries, capitalist trade and industry were re-

structured.At the end of the 1950s the economy was based largely on the principles of socialism and public ownership. Industrial and scientific progress enabled China to become a nuclear power and join in the exploration of space, but the country had wasted a great deal of time. And it continued until 1978.

It was the 3rd plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party that charted the road of fundamental change.

The plenary meeting marked the start of a new era. Reforms that began in the countryside were extended to the cities. The 13th CCP Congress in October 1987 placed the emphasis on reorganizing the political system so that in the long term it could evolve into a "viable system of highly developed democracy, up-to-date legislation and high efficiency."

The programme of future reforms is summed up in the formula "four-point socialist modernization" covering the reorganization of industrry, farming, the army and research and development. The main goal of the "four modernizations" is to achieve an average standard of living in China by the turn of the century and increase the GNP per capita of the population to 800-1,000 U.S. dollars a year. The Chinese population is expected to increase to 1 billion 200 million by that time and the GNP is expected to grow to one trillion dollars.

The Chinese leaders point out that under a capitalist system of distribution this would fall far short of ridding the country of poverty and economic backwardness. At best a small per cent of the population would become affluent, while the over ninety per cent remaining would continue to live in poverty. The socialist principle of distribution according to work makes it possible to raise the standard of living for the entire people to an average level and avoid social polarization.

The formula of "four modernizations" is the backbone of the economic reform. The ideological and political course that was adopted following the 3rd plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the CCP of the 11th convocation is conveyed by the "four basic principles" providing for a socialist way of development, a democratic dictatorship of the people, the leading role of the Communist Party, adherence to Marxism-Leninism and the ideas of Mao Zedong. In the words of Deng Xiaoping these principles provide a basis for "correcting mistakes and restoring all that is right" in building socialism in China. The 13th Congress of the CCP reaffirmed the Party's commitment to these principles. Addressing the congress Zhao Ziyang said that the "four basic principles" will continue to determine the political course of the Party and remain the foundation of the state.

His words were addressed above all to those who have failed to abandon a dogmatic and rigid interpretation of Marxism and those who reject the reform. On the other hand, that statement is addressed to the critics of China's economic policy who are anxious to discern in it the traits of an alien system rejected by the revolution nearly forty years ago.

A monument to capitalism!

It was a real treat to have crunchy fried chicken served by a charming smiling waitress after a walk in the windy streets of Beijing.

The waitress wore a card which said that her name is Li and her work number is 004. It also said that she works for Kentucky Fried Chicken, the famous institution conceived by Colonel Sanders of the United States.

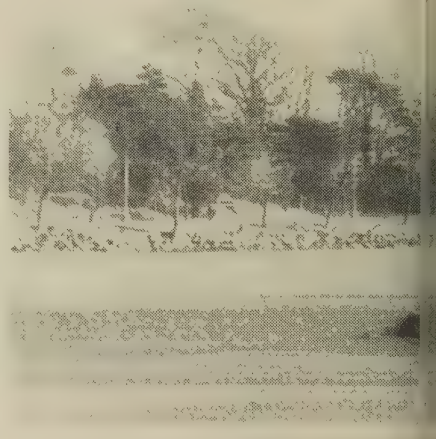
I learned about Kentucky Fried Chicken in Beijing back in Moscow from reports in the Western press. It was opened after an official ceremony in mid-November just outside Tiananmen.

The name of this seemingly boundless square must ring a bell. It is here that Chinese leaders review parades and festive processions on national holidays. Situated in the square are the National People's Congress, Mao's Tomb, and monuments to heroes of the revolution.

There are always many people in the square. It attracts both local residents and those who come from the provinces and abroad. That the authorities decided to open another eatery in a city of many millions where you can have a snack at every corner would seem an ordinary event. Some Western newsmen posted in Beijing did, however, succumb to the temptation to turn it into a scoop. Daniel Southerland of The Washington Post described the fast food outlet as a "monument to American capitalism next to so many monuments to Chinese communism."

Naturally, no one in China has thought of erecting a monument to capitalism, but borrowing useful ideas and using them to advantage has never hurt anyone either. The famous Kentucky Colonel came up with a bright idea of how to feed you fast, well and cheaply. Why not learn from him?

The Chinese are not missing their chances. A policy of expanding outside economic ties has become part of the effort to revitalize the economy and the "four modernizations." History shows that one of the main reasons for the long period of stagnation in China was its insular economic attitude. Building a new society with your doors closed cannot bring good results. The Chinese leaders



are saying that economic ties with other nations must be expanded and foreign expertise and capital must be used, as long as they do not contradict the country's policy of self-reliance.

China began to expand its outside ties during the first five-year plan, soon after the proclamation of the People's Republic of China. At the time they largely involved the U.S.S.R. and the socialist nations in Europe. Their support and assistance enabled China to resolve many problems and lay the material foundation of socialism. Later on all doors were closed. As a result, in the words of Deng Xiaoping, "the country failed to develop in any way." China cannot do without external economic ties in its current development. Economists at the Academy of Social Sciences told me that fifty years would not be enough to advance China to the economic standards of industrialized nations if the doors are closed again. Fifty years is the deadline for modernizing the country through economic reforms.

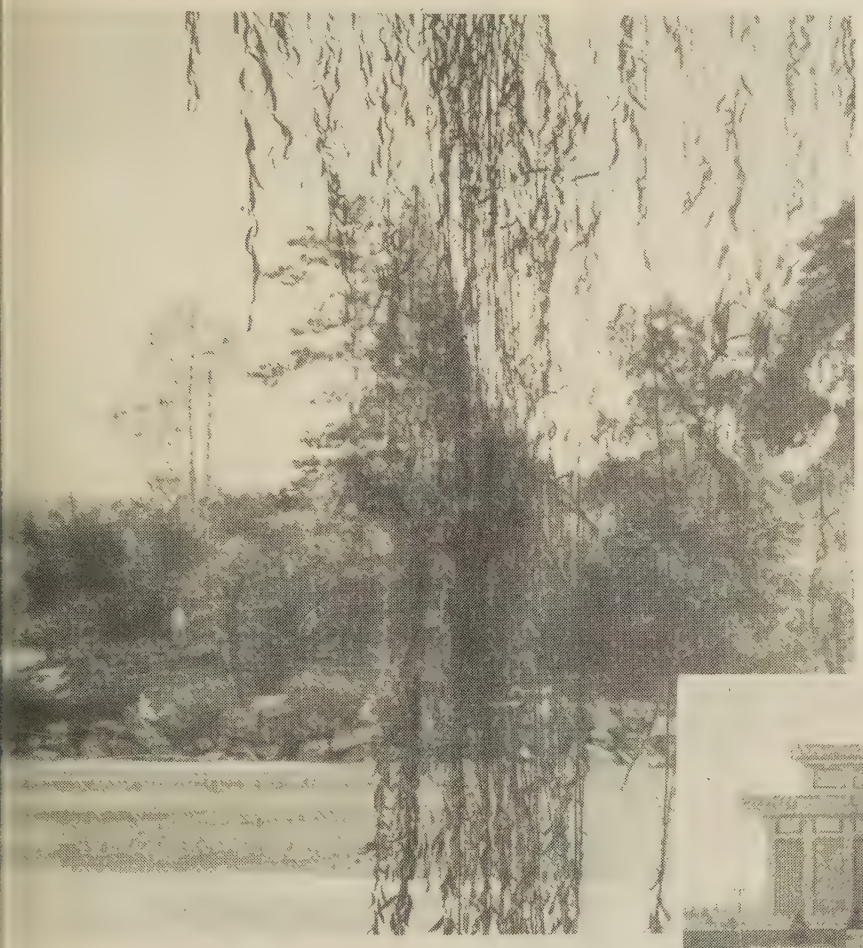
A hard nut to crack

The concrete forms of China's cooperation with the outside world will be discussed in due course, but at this point I would like to note that some people in the West as well as in China (dogmatism dies hard) would very much like to interpret the new trends in China, under which dogmas and outmoded stereotypes have been abandoned, as a deviation from socialism and all but a betrayal of Marxism-Leninism. Such attitudes are voiced in connection with foreign investment in China, joint ventures and establishing special economic zones.

Some people believe that gearing state-run factories and farms towards the market, employing the mechanism of law of value, relying on economic diversification, and encouraging cooperative, individual and private enterprise, with top priority attached to public ownership, means kowtowing to capitalism.

Rather strange situations arise. There were practically no lengthy quotes from the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism or those of Mao Zedong in the report to the 13th CCP Congress. Delegates to the congress perceived this as another sign that the leaders of the country are committed to new ways in seeking economic and political renewal through experiment and quest, instead of trying to make the complex realities of the day fit into a set of cliches and stereotypes. Some Western observers, however, interpreted the absence of lengthy quotes as another sign of abandoning the fundamental Marxist principles and China's deviation from socialism.

After the congress the CCP leader Zhao Ziyang said that some people in the West assume that the reform in China provides for introducing capitalism, because they fail to comprehend China or understand that the purpose of the reform is to promote and strengthen socialism. Reforms are under way in all other socialist countries who are seeking to combine the fundamental principles of Marxism and the realities facing them in a way that suits them best.



University park in Beijing.

To Mao Zedong

Photos by author

It is not easy to understand the basic tenets for the Chinese model of socialism. It is a hard nut to crack. A nation of one billion people, occupying a vast territory and displaying many unique traits is seeking effective ways of upgrading the economy and improving the political system of socialism and social relations. Original ideas are voiced and new economic mechanisms are tested. The Economist made this acknowledgement recently: "For Westerners, the crucial fact about Chinese politics is that no one understands them. The only way is to look at straws in the invisible wind of politics."

Some Chinese economic experiments aroused scepticism in this country as well. After all our own economy was run by other methods. The situation changed after we adopted a policy of openness and restructuring. The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China are tackling similar tasks and even though the circumstances of their development have been different, there is a solid basis for comparing notes to mutual benefit.

Replying to questions from Chinese weekly Liaowang, CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out that transformations going on in Chinese economic mechanism and political system evince great interest in the Soviet Union. "China is our neighbour and we cannot but be satisfied with the growing mutually advantageous cooperation in the economic sphere, in culture, science, education and sports," the Soviet leader said.

Economists, politicians, sociologists, lawyers, and members of many other professions will find plenty of food for thought in China's life today. Short of attempting a specialized or comprehensive analysis, I would like to report in this series as many facts as I can and share the impressions of China of one who, having lived for many years there, never regretted a single moment spent in that amazing country.

(to be continued)

Show more respect for our heritage

YURI SHEVCHENKO

The glorification syndrome and our memory

The town of Naberezhnye Chelny, which for more than five years was called Brezhnev, has had its initial name returned, just as the Cheryomushki District in Moscow and two squares, one in the capital and one in Leningrad.

In my view this decision is directly related not just to our self-respect and human dignity, but has a wider and more profound meaning.

A political meaning, first of all. Having publicly proclaimed the bitter truth about the period of stagnation in this country's history, have we any right to maintain silence about those who were responsible for it? Any evil, even such "innocent" sins as complacency and self-satisfaction, is personified, and it has to be identified. Otherwise the struggle against evil becomes abstract. There are plenty of examples. In this case, to retain the names of places given in honour of Leonid Brezhnev is in direct conflict with the spirit of our times - the time of glasnost, truth and modesty, with a sense of justice.

There also exists a historical undercurrent which is, however, connected with a political angle.

We can still remember the bronze, granite and plaster figures of the man who, as we now realize, distorted the Leninist concept of the building of socialism. Monuments of Stalin, erected during his lifetime, were seen for a long time in towns, large and small, in villages and at crossroads - symbols of his personality cult and of the exaggerated merits of one man.

What began as a wish to establish something new, including new names, in the first years of Soviet power and what was prompted by maximalist enthusiasm (revolutionary romantics have deservedly left the names of Chapayev and Lazo, Kotovsky and Kirov on the map of the country and in our memories) turned, admittedly, as time passed, into a bureaucratic privilege, a syndrome of glorification which has continued until today.

Without need - through inertia and habit and the logic of worship - a variety of names whose value is socially arguable - has been bestowed left and right. Rarely do people stop to think - is this tactful in respect to the country, its people and its history? No matter how hard copper is polished, it won't turn into gold. Nor can one just leap into history by himself, or with the help of a bureaucratic act.

Were it solely changing the names that was effected by the logic of tactlessness it wouldn't be necessary to talk so much about it.

Surely it's also this logic that dictates a consumer attitude to the land we inherited, to our forests and rivers, our natural resources and historic monuments. Why are we in such a hurry to recarve the land like a temporary leaseholder, to change it to suit our own tastes and whims? It's the only land we have. Why do we treat our natural resources so thoughtlessly, without any concern for the future? One could continue this list of deeds which are far from being deeds of loyal sons who cherish the wealth of their fatherland.

Worst of all is what we are doing to our memory. Changing the names of places makes it harder for people to learn more about the biography of their town or settlement.

But any oversimplification would be a mistake. A campaign in such a delicate matter is out of place, be it for or against. I have no intention of maintaining that any change in names is both impossible and unnecessary. It is justified when prompted by the people's recognition of a person's merits, deeds and performance, by their affection and respect for him.

Take the war heroes Liza Chaikina and Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya, the space heroes Yuri Gagarin and Sergei Korolyov after whom towns and streets have been named....Or take the town of Tolbukhin in Bulgaria or Berzarin Street in Berlin - surely they speak of memories worth retaining.

But today we are speaking of something different.

The public has not and will not easily put up with senseless changes, nor with other very similar attempts to inflict moral harm, be it on a small settlement or big city, Tolstoy's estate in Yasnaya Polyana or Repin's Penaty.

Writers and journalists, scientists and teachers raised their voices successfully for the restoration of the real names of our towns and streets, for preserving the historical image of our land. As a result of the mounting force of public opinion, there is a collective concern for the country's dignity: Lake Baikal is protected, although with difficulty, from industrial waste, the Siberian rivers have retained their usual flow, and industrial construction in the vicinity of the Baltic national park has been stopped.

Due to the initiative of the people, this concern has prompted the restoration of the old names.

Let false values remain forever in the past. But we should learn our lesson. Let there be more modesty!

You can't spend too much on science —

any more than you can economize on your brain

SERGEI KARA-MURZA, D.Sc. (Chem.)

Over a historically short span of time science has developed from an occupation restricted to a rather narrow circle of devotees into a vital activity having an immediate impact on every individual's life. Nevertheless, few other spheres of activity have given rise to as many myths in the general public as science has. These myths are extremely tenacious because man's awe at the inconceivable power of cognition has brought forth a number of taboos. We can criticize anyone - but science, like Ceasar's wife, is above suspicion. God forbid that you be suspected of anti-scientific views, or even that you drop an ill-considered remark which might play into the obscurantists' hands!

Nevertheless, the process of spiritual renaissance is gaining ground, and the taboos are easing up. So let me take advantage of this and discuss some of the science-related myths. I shall concentrate on fundamental science for the most part, because it is the root and the basis of all research and engineering. It provides the "genetic code" and sets the standards for all sciences, while its ills are repeatedly and continuously reproduced in public education, in the health service, production, and in people's minds.

* * *

It has become a firmly established popular notion here that this country spends money freely on fundamental, theoretical science, while the effort to put research findings to practical use usually comes up against a "shortage of funds." For obscure reasons this view is supported by leading scientists who readily tell the general public about the great achievements of science today, leaving non-experts convinced that this applies to Soviet science as well.

Let us see what the actual state of affairs is and how much fundamental science we need. The industrialized capitalist countries do about 30 billion dollars' worth of fundamental research a year, which is considerably more than we do.Considering the difference in researchers' pay and equipment cost, our showing wouldn't be too bad, really, if we cooperated with the world scientific community as closely as scientists of the U.S., Japan and Western Europe do. Because of both the political obstacles we often encounter in our attempts to establish contacts with Western colleagues, and our own mistakes, we have lost working contact with advanced foreign laboratories in many fields. Nor do we subscribe to their journals. And in science, if you fall behind the leaders, the going may start getting tougher, and the gap ever wider.

* * *

It would seem that the funds and facilities given over to fundamental research ought to be reserved for that purpose only. Actually, diverting them to applied technological problems has become common practice. Solving these problems consumes roughly half of the funds allocated to the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences (which, incidentally, employs less than 35 per cent of the country's research personnel). Whenever a specialized research institute has problems developing a new technique (or even reproducing a technique already in use abroad), the Academy's laboratories are called in. Although the scale of our effort in the field of molecular biology is quite modest, for instance, the Molecular Biology Institute under the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences busies itself in working out a method of detecting virus affections in potatoes. There is no denying the importance of this work, but the name of such applied problems is legion. As an old aphorism goes, catch a fish and feed one person, teach people to fish and feed a nation. It is one thing if the Academy helps make specialized laboratories equal to solving modern problems or trains research personnel for such laboratories. But if, instead of laying scientific foundations for the development of the selfsame research institutes, the Academy concentrates on devising an elegant technique which no one is actually competent enough to use anyway, that's something else again!

YOU CAN BUY A LICENCE BUT NOT A THEORY

Let us now discuss the main thing: what determines the size of the funds allocated to fundamental research? Economists are of the opinion that it is beneficial to science to have been made

a special branch of economy (referred to as "Fundamental and Applied Research"), which is regarded as recognition of its importance. Making science a "branch of the economy" might seem to be a mere bureaucratic formality. The "branch" status entitles science to compete with other branches - the ferrous metallurgy, for instance - for funds. In reality, the fact that science costs the state slightly over four per cent of the national income may urge the planners to save a little.

This notion of science is wrong. It does not compete with other branches for funds, it is a vitally important intellectual component, a thin film of "grey matter" over every production branch, infinitesimal expenditure-wise. Even from the most pragmatic angle, science can be likened to the brain of the country's economic organism.

The animal and human organism possesses an amazing property: when starved, it keeps the brain supplied with all the necessary substances to the very end. This is the way we should treat science, but we don't. In times of difficulties, we insist that it be as economical as the "heavier" parts of the organism. It is wrong in principle to correlate expenditure on fundamental research with those involved in running the national economy as a whole. If it is to be an efficient "brain," science should possess a certain critical absolute value with little dependence on the size of the "body" (i.e., economy). Feudal economy, whatever its scale, has managed without science at all, while the modern industry depends heavily on scientific knowledge, the lack of which will land it in different kinds of disasters. Given the "brain" of a size objectively required for its viability, the scale of the economy can be greatly extended.

When dividing limited funds between fundamental research and engineering development work, the former should certainly take prevalence over the latter. A design can be bought, but there is no buying fundamental knowledge: it is only up to us to study our nature and our psychology, while universal and seemingly general knowledge can be conveyed only by those who acquire it. Besides, a new product of research and development work can cost 100 times more than a fundamental research effort of comparable importance. Therefore, if we doubled the expenditures on fundamental research now, the total spending on science would increase by a mere seven per cent or so.

* * *

And now let us proceed to the problems connected with putting new ideas and designs into practice. These problems are enormous. What's more, the past few years have witnessed quite a few cases of inexplicably stubborn, even defiant resistance to innovation. An overall analysis would probably reveal the fact that on very many occasions introduction problems can be traced back to the research stage, that the workers who resist new machinery have already gone through the ordeal of trying to put half-baked ideas into commercial practice. Chances are that if the barriers standing in the way of new machines and techniques magically disappeared, it would turn out that science does not have too many new ideas to offer, after all. The main thing is that all too often an ingenious new idea cannot be brought into full play because of various deficiencies. (For instance, labour efficiency in our agriculture has dropped following the introduction of the latest high-power tractors; the latter operate in conjunction with assorted mounted tools which are still not available.)

In cases when ingenious devices were sledgehammered, indifferent ones were pushed through instead. Many "innovations" of no practical value are being persistently - and successfully - put to use. Recall all the projects which have by now come to be seen in the proper light.

* * *

The slogan that our science should embark on an intensive path of development has become stereotyped. The need for such a changeover is obvious: our science simply cannot cope with a growing avalanche of new problems. For example, in order to optimize the production of materials we'll need in the year 2000, our chemical science - with its present research potential - would have to grow a thousand times in "size"!

There are different views concerning the essence and ways of intensification, some of them poles apart. Intensification is often regarded as "making more efficient use of our high research potential."

It seems to me that actually our scientists are doing extremely efficient work, while our scientific potential is inadequate by modern criteria. As for our achievements and our ability to keep our economy at the technical level befitting an industrialized country, I'd attribute that to two interacting causes. First, socialism has removed the barriers (set up by private ownership of scientific and technical information) which sectionalized the national research effort and rid scientists of the need to chase conjunctural gains (this achievement should not be cancelled out by an excessive emphasis on financial self-support in science). The second cause was the unprecedented enthusiasm which followed the October Revolution and which produced several generations of scientists and engineers of extraordinary intellectual and creative ability, which remains a factor in the formation of young scientists today.

All this imparts special quality to our science and constitutes its sterling value which we must preserve and which we shall be subsequently able to share with world science as equal partners in exchange for whatever we lack at the moment. Nevertheless, our science lacks efficiency at the new stage of our development. The way I see it, the key to intensification lies not in a fuller use of the existing research potential, but in building up an entirely new research potential geared to modern needs.

WE SOUGHT UNIFORMITY.

NOW WE NEED VARIETY.

This presupposes that our science changes over to a different road of development. The current practices and systems in our science will, in general, no longer do. Partial improvements will not get us anywhere; our science stands in need of thorough reconstruction, of a "new look." The task now is not merely to improve organization but to change over to new principles of organization. This will involve certain problems at first, just as the introduction of new-generation equipment does, only to bring a breakthrough in efficiency.

A new organizational structure is above all supposed to accord with the function and the "anatomy" of science. There is no squeezing science into a straitjacket of any kind! Until now we have been moving in one direction - towards the maximum uniformity of science organization patterns. If we are to make headway, we must seek quite the opposite: the maximum diversification of research groups in composition, size, functioning modes and budgeting principles. Any form of monopoly must be absolutely ruled out....

Psychiatry:

make sure the diagnosis is right

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. has endorsed the statute of Psychiatric Treatment. This decision of the supreme state authority applies not only to medical problems. Can a sane person be committed to a mental clinic? Does contemporary psychiatry guarantee skilled aid and human rights?

Doctor of medical sciences YURI POLISHCHUK answers questions from New Times.

In what ways does mental illness differ from other illnesses afflicting humankind?

Mental illness is essentially disturbance in the function of the cerebral cortex. There is an extremely wide range of mental disturbances. Some are hereditary, such as various forms of feeblemindedness, oligophrenia, epilepsy and schizophrenia, whereas others are precipitated by infectious diseases, poisoning and conflicts. However, it is difficult to establish the boundary. For instance, the course of a hereditary illness is largely influenced by external factors.

What kinds of mental disorders are prevalent - hereditary or "acquired"?

The number of exogenous disorders, i.e., conditioned mainly by external causes. There is an increasing number of neuroses, particularly those resulting from excessive information.

Is schizophrenia the mental illness of which the general public is the most aware?

Schizophrenia is a group of illnesses that are similar in outward manifestations, but have different genetic causes. Their common aspects are the split of personality and disorganized thinking. The mind of a schizophrenic can be likened to an orchestra without a conductor. The important sign of schizophrenia is that it's development progresses. Personality becomes impoverished, emotions fade, willpower is destroyed.

Is the incidence of schizophrenia very high?

Contrary to general belief, it is not. The common use of the word "schizophrenic" is based on the association with paradoxical thinking of sufferers of schizophrenia. So when an unusual viewpoint is expressed, or an extraordinary action taken, people promptly "diagnose" an illness.

Can a mental patient recover completely?

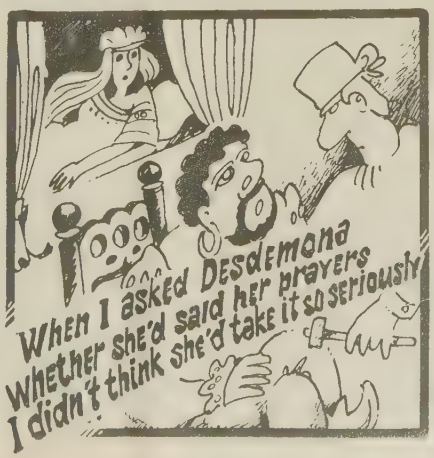
In cases other than feeblemindedness (which is stable throughout a lifetime) recovery in principle is possible. There can be complete cure in mild cases of schizophrenia. By the way, manic-depressives are absolutely sane people in between recurrences of the illness. There are cases of intermission when there are absolutely no signs of mental illness. There are favourable periods in cases of schizophrenia fits, when there are just slight changes in the psyche of the patient that only a psychiatrist can detect. Meaning a person is, to all intents and purposes, healthy. The residual phenomena do not interfere with his vocational or social functioning. Such persons need not be under psychiatric observation, so observation is discontinued. It can be resumed if an illness is aggravated but while the person is healthy there is no need to stick a label on him.

To what an extent is surgery used in psychiatry? What is your attitude to lobotomy?

I think many people received a clear impression about lobotomy from reading Ken Kesey's novel "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest." The severing of nerve fibres between different sections of the brain often leads to the most negative consequences. The patient is robbed of an ability to experience emotions and reduced to vegetation. Lobotomy is prohibited in the U.S.S.R.

On the other hand, psychosurgery is used and is quite often effective where little can be achieved by medicines - as in cases of epilepsy. After operations performed at the Omsk centre directed by Professor Yuri Savchenko, many patients' frequent epileptic seizures were stopped forever.

Illustrations by Nikolai Shcherbakov



Is psychosurgery used only in cases of epilepsy?

Research in the area of psychosurgery continues both abroad and in this country at the Institute of experimental medicine headed by Academician N. Bekhtereva. The greatest danger in this area is posed by unpredictable complications after surgical interference in cerebral activity.

Is it better to use a great number of psychotropic drugs? Don't they have side effects?

Having weighed all "pros" and "cons," we cannot give up large-scale use in psychotropic preparations. They have altered the look of mental hospitals. Violent mental cases had to be straitjacketed in the past, not a very humane tactic, but there was no other choice. Present-day psychotropic drugs tranquilize such patients, even at the cost of some side-effects. It is in rare cases when a side effect is really debilitating that the use of drugs has to be discontinued.

You have mentioned the fact that the incidence of mental disturbances precipitated by stress, conflicts, and even the current information explosion is growing. Will the mental health of the majority of humanity be engendered with time?

This is hardly possible. The growing pace of life, of social production certainly makes greater demands on man's psyche. But his psyche has considerable resources which, with a reasonable way of life, work and rest, enables man to withstand greater effort and stress. The use of computer equipment, and automated systems lessens the workload. It is necessary to be aware of and apply the basic principles of scientific organization of labour and hygienic requirements, methods of autogenic training and means facilitating intellectual activity. Otherwise one really becomes vulnerable. Regrettably, we have been slow in realizing the importance of mental health and mental hygiene and basic principles of interpersonal communication, and are behind in these areas.

Do you have any statistics on social status and professions of persons who develop neuroses?

Various social groups are almost equally vulnerable to mental disturbances. The main reason for the onset of neuroses is universal: conflicts in the family caused by adultery, personality clashes, jealousy, family tensions, the competition for leadership, the wrong concept of one's role in the family. Conflicts on the job rate second. Such conflicts take place among engineers, technicians and workers alike. The managerial staff, perhaps, fares the worst since they are placed under the strongest psychological stress. They bear responsibility, make decisions, are pressed for time and must switch from one task to the next. Working under pressure and working extra-long hours cause mental illness.

Is it true that a person who is uninhibited in the manifestation of emotions runs lesser risks than the one who suppresses them?

This is true. Emotions should always have outlets. Consider the fact that animals do not conceal their emotional state. If a person who is inhibited by nature or due to upbringing tries to conceal the fact that he is annoyed or sad, emotions are suppressed and delayed, and this adversely affects the blood vessels, the stomach and the endocrine glands via the vegetative nervous system.

Can mental disorders help draw out man's talents? In other words, what is the relationship between talent and mental derangement?

The history of art and science furnishes many examples of outstanding personalities being on or even beyond the border line of sanity. Perhaps the explanation is that in mentally deranged states the modes of emotional reaction and ways of thinking assume an unusual paradoxical expression and this enhances the chance of discovery. There is apparently some overlap between what is described as talent and mental derangement.

On the other hand, we must distinguish between the excitement of a creative person visited by inspiration and symptoms of mental disorder. When Archimedes, delighted at his discovery, jumped out of his bathtub and ran home without any clothes on through the streets of Syracuse, shouting "Eureka," he could have been taken for a madman which he was not.

It is obviously impossible to create a work of genius when one's mental faculties are severely impaired. There is the possibility, though, that prior to the onset of the illness there are elements of paradoxical thinking in man's creative potential which enables him to create vivid original works. There appears a touch of sickliness in his art at the start of schizophrenia, but his works are still those of a man of genius. But in the end the illness will inevitably destroy his gift.

There is an interesting phenomenon called hypermnesia - the abnormally vivid and complete memory of seemingly long-forgotten events - which sometimes occurs upon recovering from encephalitis, or inflammation of the brain. There was a case when an uneducated woman on recovering from encephalitis started speaking French. It turned out that she had looked after the children of a family many years before and heard conversations in a language she did not understand. But she could reproduce them many years later.

Where is the border line between a bad mood and depression, between the anger of a person to whom injustice has been done and the anger of a mentally deranged?

And where is the border line between the reasonable and unreasonable fear of the dark, of loneliness? It is difficult to tell. Take a man who is exposing his unjust decisions and actions. How can it be distinguished that he is a man of principle, convinced of his rightness, asserting his convictions, and not a mental case with a paranoiac systematic delirium? There are cases of the delusion of reform-making, when a person assumes the stance of a fighter for some reform or other.

Psychiatrists use the terms: overexaggerated values and delirious notions. Delirious notions result from the impairment of mental processes. Overexaggerated values are conceived by sane persons who have certain hypertrophic traits of character and personality. These are as a rule inborn qualities such as strict adherence to principle, lack of flexibility, the striving for excessive sociability. Such persons always want to be in the limelight and think of themselves as leaders. At some period in their lives they find themselves under emotional stress and this precipitates an obsession which comes to dominate their consciousness so that everything else recedes to the background. Mental disturbance sets in....

Can it be that a person is not ill but is just fanatically dedicated to his idea?

There can be cases when a person of high moral principles, annoyed at narrow-

THE FIRST COOPERATIVE PAPER

I found some very useful information in a newspaper recently. For instance, I could order a cake baked by a housewife, invite a waiter to set the table, get a tailor-made suit within a few days, or have my car repaired. I just have to dial the number listed in the ad column.

There was also more serious information, such as: "Cooperators and craftsmen, many of you are short of equipment and all kinds of materials. The Latvian State Committee for Material and Technical Supply offers you assistance in..."

On the front page of the paper I read an interesting article about the cooperative movement written by an official of the Riga City Soviet (council), and on the back page, printed in two colours,

mindedness of those around him who try to evade difficulties, launches the struggle for a cause giving no thought to consequences for himself. Such persons always catch the attention of those around them who at times suggest that psychiatrists should intervene.

And it is so easy to brand any idea with which others have no sympathy for as a delusion and to bar that person from social life by proclaiming him to be mentally deranged.

Deplorably, such cases have happened. But if a person is under psychiatric observation for a considerable period of time, a qualified psychiatrist will surely be able to determine whether or not a mental abnormality exists. He sees the sequence of events showing a gradual evolution of the illness. And if an accentuated personality is involved... The border line between mental health and derangement of the personality is barely perceptible - here and there should be no haste in diagnosing an illness.

In what cases is a forced confinement of a patient to mental hospital warranted?

There is a certain instruction to this effect. Persons whose behavior shows the signs of mental disturbances which endanger their own existence (suicide-prone cases) or constitute a menace to others (a possibility of an assault, causing bodily or moral harm) can be confined to a mental hospital. A new instruction will probably be issued now that the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet has adopted the provision for the conditions and procedure of rendering psychiatric help.

As is known, the notion of "danger to society" includes actions causing damage to the state.

Yes, indeed, as in cases, for instance, when an ill person can reveal a state secret or provoke some unfriendly anti-Soviet actions. But even in such cases he is confined to a hospital for only medical reasons.

Who determines the degree in which the patient is dangerous?

When a person with anti-social behavior suffering from delusions is to be forcibly confined to a hospital, a panel of no less than three highly qualified psychiatrists must examine him and make a decision within a day. If a mental illness is not confirmed the decision on hospitalization is abrogated.

Are you certain that there can be no cases when a sane person with hypertrophied traits of character, for instance a dedicated champion of justice, can be forcibly confined to a mental hospital?

I am absolutely certain that no sane person can be forcibly hospitalized. There might be cases, though, when it is difficult to differentiate between a schizophrenic and a psychopath (an emotionally disturbed person with inadequate responses to reality and with an inclination to illegal anti-social actions). Even an experienced psychiatrist can make an error. But as the patient is further observed the error will surely be corrected.

Admittedly there have been cases of free interpretation of the instructions or the procedure of a forced hospitalization. I came across two cases when mentally deranged persons whose actions did not present a threat either to themselves or to others were forcibly confined to a mental clinic.

The provision of the Supreme Soviet that has just been adopted envisages legal guarantees against errors and abuses of this kind. Criminal responsibility is envisaged for putting an obviously sane person in a mental clinic. Relatives or legal representatives of the patient can complain against the action of psychiatrists in court. The rights of a mentally deranged person must be unswervingly observed as the rights of a sane person. An obligatory confinement of a patient to a mental clinic can have no other reasons than medical ones. A clinic is a place for treatment, not punishment.

Interviewed by LEV YELIN, LEONID MLECHIN

---

was a comic strip on the ubject.

I got a hold of useful, well-illustrated information, which was presented in a lively and snappy manner, from the country's first cooperative pa-per, For You, published monthly in Riga by the Torgservis cooperative. Half of the 40,000 copies appear in Latvian and half in Russian. I was told that all 40,000 copies (eight copecks each) are sold out in an hour.

The editorial office is direc-ted by the cooperative de-partment of the Riga City Soviet. The bulletin itself is put out by professional journalists who concluded a labour agreement with the Torgservis where, incidentally, the idea of publishing the paper origina-ted. The five-man staff consists of the editor, a journalist, artist, translator and advertising edi-tor.

"The original idea was to put out an advertising bulletin exclusively," editor Grigorii Merson told me. "But then we understood that it would also be interesting to publish articles on problems facing the cooperatives. By the way, we take a 'cooperative' attitude to advertising as well."

"What do you mean?"

"We will never advertise goods or services below the required standard."

"Meaning you will not accept a paid ad."

"We will not. In fact, there was already such a case. It is shameful to con the public, and we have to build trust in the new publication."

The incomes from adverti-sing, which make up a sizable part of the editorial office budget, together with receipts from the sale of the edition provide enough money to cover the publishing costs. A quarter of the receipts goes to the press distribution agency and the rest is used to buy the paper, meet printing expenses, and pay the wages (160 to 180 rubles a month).

In the words of cooperators, profit is not the main aim here. The main thing, in their opinion, is to unite the people employed in the new field.

In speaking about the Riga cooperative paper, I would go against the truth if I mentioned only its organizational problems, such as acquiring printing facilities and purcha-sing newsprint (only half a ton a month, but it is a problem).

A paper on a cooperative basis? Initially, the very idea of publishing such a bulletin seemed almost an anathema to some people. But the city leaders thought it possible since the law does not ban activity of this kind.

"The need for a bank of information about new goods and services, information acces-sible to all, arose long ago," said Alfreds Rubiks, chairman of the Riga City Soviet. "The information of cooperatives (about 250 in Riga) is a dynamic process, and up-to-date infor-mation is simply essential in this respect. At first, we pinned our hopes on the city evening newspaper, but it was unable to carry all the information requi-red. The bulletin For You therefore came in handy. It was founded not just for advertising purposes. The paper will also keep the reader posted on the legal and financial aspects of the cooperatives' activity, and carry information helping them to establish links with local industry. In short, the paper will serve to promote the cooperative movement. Such is the message of recent go-vernment decisions."

I folded up the paper and once more looked at its name. For You - means for us all.

BORIS BALKAREI
Riga-Moscow

ONWARD... ONWARD!

Krupskaya. What's the matter with you? Feeling any better?

Lenin. Yes, much better. They helped. Take a sheet of paper. This concerns not only the insult, but much more. So take it down.

Krupskaya. But you mustn't, Volodya, I implore you. You have no right to do this.

Lenin. I see this as my duty. Even if it were to cost me my life.... (In a voice rising to a shriek.) But there'll never be the right to dishonour, never!

Krupskaya. All right, all right. Only please don't shout. I'll take it down.

Lenin (gathering his strength). To Comrade Stalin. Strictly confidential, personal. I have no intention of forgetting so easily what has been done against me, while there is no need to say that what has been done against my wife is the same, as I see it, against me. For this reason I ask you to think it over and say whether you agree to take your words back and apologize, or do you prefer to sever relations between us. Respectfully. Lenin. March 5, 1923.

Krupskaya. Why? Why did you have to do that, Volodya? They were almost your last words in this life. It's gotten so bad again, that it couldn't be worse. He had another stroke on the 10th.

Lenin. Did he apologize?

Krupskaya. Yes.

Lenin. Along with the "Letter to the Congress" this is serious food for thought.

Krupskaya (with a deep sigh). Oh, the "Letter to the Congress..."

Lenin. What do you mean?

The light changes

Zinovyev (with difficulty). Vladimir Ilyich, the thing is that in May 1924, on the eve of the 13th Congress, when Nadezhda Konstantinovna left us with this letter and its personalized character references, we were shocked. It was as a bombshell, upset the entire applecart.

Lenin. What does that imply?

Zinovyev. We've already had a definite lineup in the Central Committee leadership. For more than a year now the Politburo activity has been run by me, Lev Borisovich, and partly Stalin. Our triumvirate afforded reliable defence against Trotsky's dictatorial ambitions. Your letter upset the balance. Stalin took affront and immediately handed in his resignation, which we, with difficulty, got him to withdraw.

Lenin. I wrote to the congress that the relationship between Stalin and Trotsky comprised more than half the danger of a split that would threaten the Party, and that if no preventative action were taken, it might come unexpectedly. I wrote about Stalin's rudeness and disloyalty, which could not be tolerated at all in his capacity as General Secretary. I warned you that these characteristics of Stalin's were not insignificant, or they are insignificant enough to be decisive for the Party'e entire lot. A decisive insignificance. Did you think about that?

Zinovyev. Of course we did.

Kamenev. We only thought about how to preserve Stalin.

Lenin. Why? Weren't there others who were good organizers and who would be more tolerant, more loyal and more attentive to their comrades? I mentioned Frunze. Or take Dzerzhinsky. And Stalin could have an interesting job, as the question was one not of resignation but of taking another position.

Kamenev. The point is... (to Zinovyev) I'd like to give the full picture.

Zinovyev. Go ahead.

Kamenev. We agreed among ourselves that at the 12th Congress the political report, which you used to present, would be delivered by Zinovyev, not Trotsky, by Zinovyev and no one else. That was of utter importance as he would be regarded by the Party as your successor. Stalin willingly gave his support. In turn, we pledged to keep him as General Secretary, a post that was not a decisive one at the time. Then Stalin himself would not claim the role of leader. He fully suited us in that capacity. You see, Vladimir Ilyich, at the time the thought of Stalin as the only man in command was totally out of the question. On the contrary, he was all for collective leadership. May I assure you that at that time Lev Davidovich's ambitions, his potential dictatorial aspirations were seen by all of us as far more of a danger than Stalin's personal qualities.... To be asolutely frank, we thought that Stalin, because of his limitations, was no menace.

Zinovyev. Now, of course, that would appear to be an unscrupulous power struggle, but what was at stake then was how the revolution would proceed further - according to Lenin, or according to Trotsky. Such was the objective that qualified the means of struggle.

Lenin. I won't touch upon the substance of your discussions now. I'll put them aside. And the choice made at the time, what was according to Lenin and what was according to Trotsky. However, you, Grigori Yevseyevich, cannot absolve yourself of the responsibility for the fact that in this crucial ideological struggle, all of you - whether Zinovyev, or Stalin, or Kamenev or Trotsky - introduced elements of intrigue and political chicanery. (To Kamenev.) What followed?

Kamenev. After we read your letter to the congress, we resolved to keep Stalin in his high position at all costs. We fairly easily obtained the Central Committee plenary meeting's agreement. I was most of all afraid of the congress, and believed it absolutely essential not to have the letter read out and discussed at a plenary session, as I thought the situation then might get out of hand. So I suggested doing no more than reading the letter outloud to each delegation separately, to brief them. Two of us went along to the largest delegations. I read the letter to them and Grigori Yevseyevich noted that the Central Committee plenary meeting had already adopted a decision. Although Ilyich's will was law to us, there was a part where Ilyich's fears had, luckily enough, not been justified. There was no danger of a split, and our General Secretary would take into account criticism and justify the Party's trust. These tactics ensured us success. (After a pause.) Forgive me, that's not the right word.

Bukharin. I was one of those who weren't excited about this operation.

Lenin (after a pause). We are all familiar enough with our great people, with their strength, their weakness, their, for the time being, downtrodden and unenlightened state. Nationalist arrogance is not blinding us. However, what should follow, what action should be taken? This is the basic issue that divides people into different parties and creeds, that determines policies, ethics and all the rest. Even we Bolsheviks, members of the same party, stand divided in the final analysis about the

Continued from our previous issues.

attitude towards the people. From the rostrum we issue pledges in their name, but in the private offices we do what is convenient to us. We prefer a way of things when some imperiously preach and others humbly listen. We decide the fundamental issues of Party life among the Party hierarchy, but not together with the congress delegates, nor with the Party rank and file, who we're afraid of. The upshot is that the human being is merely the implement, not the objective. That's what unites you all. Is it socialism that we'll shape or something opposed to its principles and which, I fear, will sicken the human being. I told Martov "if" again and again, but do you yourselves realize the part you played in making a reality out of these dangerous, but by no means obligatory possibilities? Or in regards to everything that occurred later? Then you embraced Trotsky and attacked NEP under the guise of super--industrialization, not caring one bit for the lot of the peasantry, for the lot of millions of living beings. How much Bolshevism was here? On the other hand, how many grave misconceptions, that no true Bolshevik can tolerate, were here? How much unscrupulous ambition and affronted vanity was here? Indeed, comrades, these mistakes of yours are more appalling than those of October.

Depressed, Zinovyev and Kamenev say nothing.

Kamenev. We are prepared to accept your sharpest criticism. Only we simply cannot bear the idea that some may construe it as sanctifying what happened afterwards.

Lenin. Who presided at your trial?

Kamenev. Vyshinsky.

Lenin. Which Vyshinsky? The Menshevik?

Zinovyev. Yes, that same Vyshinsky, who in 1917 was the presiding judge of Moscow's Yakimanka borough court and who in Kerensky's footsteps signed the warrant for our arrest as German spies. What didn't work out then, Mr Vyshinsky accomplished twenty years later.

Kerensky. To be frank, I must say I felt somewhat gratified.

Lenin (to Kamenev and Zinovyev). What actually took place?

Zinovyev. In the name of the Central Committee and for the sake of Party interest, we were required to participate in an open trial.

Lenin. For the Party's sake, you say?

Kamenev. You fought against Stalin, but the Party did not take your side. For your supporters to disarm, indeed break with your ideas and revert to the Party faith, it is necessary to show all of them what the opposition led to, what mire Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinovyev had dragged it into. Something like that.

Zinovyev (ironically). We were to take just a little upon ourselves. In compliance with Trotsky's instructions, we organized Kirov's murder and were planning to kill Stalin, Voroshilov and other Party leaders.

Kamenev. In the event of our agreement, the lives of our wives, children, friends and comrades were to be spared.

Zinovyev. Vladimir Ilyich, by that time we had been crushed both morally and physically.

Kamenev. We told Yagoda that we would agree provided that Stalin reaffirm all his promises in the presence of the entire Politburo.

Zinovyev. When we were taken to his Kremlin office, the only Politburo members there were Stalin himself and Voroshilov.

Kamenev. We stopped in the middle of the room. They sat, we stood. Everybody was silent. Finally Stalin indicated the seats.

The light changes

Stalin. Well, what have you got to say?

Kamenev. We were promised that the Politburo would meet to discuss our case.

Stalin. You see before you the Politburo commission authorized to hear all that you've got to say.

Zinovyev. Over the past two years Lev Borisovich and myself were given quite a few promises, but no one has been honoured. Can we rely on new promises now? When we were forced to say that we bear the moral responsibility for Sergei Mironovich's murder, Yagoda relayed to us your personal promise that that would be the last sacrifice demanded of us. Yet, now a travesty of justice is being engineered that will sling mud not only at us but at the entire Party, the entire revolution. It will discredit the very essence of Bolshevism in the eyes of the whole world.

Stalin. Don't try to scare us. We aren't easily frightened.

Zinovyev. I appeal to your good sense.... I implore you to cancel this trial.... It will cast the stigma of unprecedented shame upon the country. It will strike at the idea of socialism. If you want to get rid of us so much, kill us quietly, but don't force old Bolsheviks to admit to their having been a gang of killers. Just think, you seek to represent members of Lenin's Politburo, Lenin's personal friends - yes we argued, yes we quarrelled, but after all we were close friends. However, you wish to depict us as unprincipled criminals, and picture our Bolshevik party, the party of the proletarian revolution as a vipers' nest of traitors and spies.... If only Vladimir Ilyich were alive, if only he were to see all this.... (Breaks down and weeps.)

Kamenev. Please understand that if we old Bolsheviks are terrorists, that means we must renounce all the principles of Bolshevism.

Stalin. That's not the first time, is it? The legitimate question arises: do these men prize their principles, their views, their convictions so dearly? Nobody in history before has skipped so easily from one set of principles to another, nobody has yet changed his views so easily as these men. With Stalin against Trotsky, then with Trotsky against Stalin. If you renounced your views so often, is it really so hard for you to renounce them once more? I think we are placing not the heaviest of burdens, but perhaps, a usual burden, upon the shoulders of Kamenev and Zinovyev. So much crying, weeping and howling over an insignificant thing: you have renounced principles so often before, why not do it once more?

Kamenev. Can't you admit that we were on your side as long as you held to Lenin 's stand? It's a matter of the principle of personal devotion that suits you, instead of....

Zinovyev (frightened). Lev Borisovich!

Stalin. Does Kamenev wish to say something? We're ready to listen. (Kamenev is silent.) The Politburo was absolutely right to say that Kamenev and Zinovyev are to be thanked for their successful work in the Party in the past, for their successful struggle against Trotskyism in the past, which has been good experience for many. The trouble, though, is that they themselves have renounced their good past. We must say that we rooted for them, we did all we could to keep them in the Party leadership, but they themselves did all they could to break all the old ties of friendship. They, you see, now feel hurt that it is not they who shape Party life. It is not they who now dictate their will to the Party, it is not they who are now, in a figure of speech, in the saddle. Instead of knuckling under, curtailing their pride, crawling with words of repentance on their lips, they have sought to grab life by the collar and switch over to Trotsky's side. What did the great Lenin say as to how to act when leaders are guilty of betrayal? I am also Lenin's pupil and understand his ideas as either complete and unreserved surrender or retirement from the scene. If they don't go of their own accord, we'll kick them out.

Zinovyev. We are guilty of a great deal before the Party, but as we stand on the edge of the grave, we are not looking to vindicate ourselves. On the other hand, we never had any thought of....

Stalin. But who was it that said about me at the Central Committee's plenary meeting: "In whatever straits the domineering clique of Stalinists may place us, we shall fight to the bitter end against the gravediggers of the revolution?" Who said of me that our Party congresses were the supreme triumph of the machinery of apparatus? Who reiterated about me so

sweetly that I am the Party's most brilliant mediocrity? Who said of me at the 14th Party congress: "I have come to the conclusion that Comrade Stalin cannot fulfil the role of unifier of the Bolshevik headquarters"? I never forget anything. You pygmies fancied you were rescuing the revolution.... In 1917 you all betrayed the cause of revolution again under the cover of striving for its salvation....

Kamenev. You didn't think so in 1917. It was you who opposed Lenin's proposal to expel us from the Party.

Stalin. For which Lenin soundly rebuked me and with good reason. (To Zinovyev.) It's now too late to cry over what you thought when you took to fighting the Central Committee. The Central Committee warned you more than once that your struggle would come to a sorry end. You failed to listen, and it really did come to a sorry end. Even today you are told to obey the party's will, and your own lives and the lives of all those who you dragged into the mud will be spared. But again you refuse to listen. So you will only have yourselves to thank if matters end even more sadly, as worse as worse can be.

Kamenev. And where are the guarantees that we will not be deceived once again?

Stalin. Guarantees? What guarantees can you really expect here? That's ridiculous! Do you want, perhaps, an official agreement countersigned by the League of Nations? Zinovyev and Kamenev have evidently forgotten that they are not at a local market where you barter over a stolen nag, but before the Politburo of the Communist Party of Bolsheviks. If they find the assurances that the Politburo gives are inadequate, then, comrades, I really don't know whether there's any point in continuing to talk to them. What? Here Voroshilov says that if Zinovyev and Kamenev still have at least a grain of common sense they should drop on their knees before Comrade Stalin for sparing their lives. But if common sense is lacking, then let them go to hell, let them croak! What will Zinovyev say? Does he have at least a grain of common sense?

Zinovyev (after a long pause). Yes.

Stalin. There was a time when Zinovyev and Kamenev distinguished themselves for their clear thinking and ability to approach matters dialectically. Today they think like philistines. Yes, comrades, like the most backward of philistines. They have got it into their heads that we are staging a trial to have them shot. That's simply stupid! As if we couldn't shoot them if we think it necessary. They forget three things. First, the trial is directed not against them but against Trotsky, our Party's mortal enemy. Second, if we did not shoot them when they were actively fighting against the Central Committee, why should we shoot them after they have helped the Central Committee in its struggle against Trotsky. And, third, the comrades are also forgetting that we Bolsheviks are Lenin's pupils and followers and do not want to spill the blood of Party stalwarts, however grave their sins against the Party may be.

A long pause

Kamenev. We agree. But we want to clarify once again that no oppositionist nor his wife or children will be persecuted and that from now on no death sentences be carried out for past involvement in the opposition.

Stalin. That goes without saying.

Kamenev. For that sake we agree.

The light changes

Sverdlov. Stalin, you already knew then....

Stalin (furiously). I always knew the one and only thing: all those Zinovyevs, Kamenevs, Bukharins and Rykovs were only in my way, grabbing my hands, not letting me do what the great Lenin had asked us do. I swore by his coffin, and I have carried out my vow whatever you all here might say!

The light changes. A funeral march

Stalin. Comrades, we Communists are of a special breed. We are of special stuff. We are the army of the great proletarian strategist, the army of Comrade Lenin. There is nothing more honorable than to belong to this army. There is nothing higher than to be a member of the Party that Comrade Lenin founded and led. Not everyone is made to be a member of that Party. Not everyone is made to bear up against the misfortunes and storms befalling membership in this Party.

Departing from us, Comrade Lenin asked us to hold on high and keep the great title of Party member pure. We swear to you, Comrade Lenin that we will honestly fulfil this mandate of yours.

Comrade Lenin spent 25 years nurturing our Party which he transformed into the world's strongest and best tempered workers' party. Our Party has forged in cruel battle the unity and cohesion of its ranks. By virtue of its unity and cohesion it was victorious over the enemies of the working class.

Departing from us, Comrade Lenin asked us to cherish Party unity as the apple of our eye. We swear to you Comrade Lenin that we will honestly carry out this mandate of yours.

Lenin (unable to restrain himself). Stop it! It's sickening to hear it!

Martov. The irony of history has not overlooked your cause either.

Lenin (pulling himself together). Well, as they say, and the evening and the morning were the next day.

The Winter Palace. 12:30 p.m.

Kerensky listening to Polkovnikov's report.

Polkovnikov. All of Petrograd's military colleges and schools are on a state of alert. The cadets from Peterhof are deployed in the Winter Palace. We intercepted a radiogram from the Aurora, in which the Revolutionary Military Committee has called for prudent but firm and resolute action.

Kerensky. Prudent....

Polkovnikov. Malyantovich reports that Lenin has been spotted and will be apprehended any moment now. Proceeding from the strategic situation it is necessary to deprive the Bolsheviks of freedom of manoeuvering, to deprive them of possibilities for freely operating over the entire area of the city.

Kerensky. Very well. Raise the bridges!

Curtain

The Smolny. 13:20 p.m.

Trotsky (comes downstage). We have been asked, are we going to act or not? That depends on those who seek to disrupt the All-Russian Congress. If the government wishes to use the short time left - 24, 48, or 72 hours - to its demise and attack us, we shall retaliate with a counterattack, strike for strike, steel against iron!

Kerensky's government thinks history is made in high society salons and business offices where democratic upstarts hobnob with titled liberals and yesterday's nobodies from amongst provincial lawyers are hastily learning to reverently kiss dignitary hands.... Fools, braggarts, dimwits! History is made in the trenches where, overwhelmed by the nightmare of war frenzy, the soldier sticks his bayonet into the officer's belly and then rides the rails to his home village to set the local landlord's roof on fire. What, you find this savagery sickening? Don't get angry, history answers, what you have is what you get. These are but the deductions to be drawn from what has preceded. Do you seriously think that history today is written in the Winter Palace? Fiddlesticks, it's sheer fantasy, imbecility! History, you should know, this time has selected the former aristocratic girls' institute as its laboratory. From here it is preparing for the abolition of our entire landowning bourgeois rot and obscenity. Congregating here, at the Smolny Institute, are soot-begrimed delegates from the factories and grey-faced, lice-ridden, scraggly messengers from the trenches. And from this place they will carry throughout the country the new prophecy of "Long live the socialist revolution of the workers and the peasants!" (Stepping to one side, to audience and all on-stage.) I would now like to protest the theatre's obvious tendentiousness. It's high time, comrades, to break with Stalin's set

patterns! I wrote time and again after October that our public announcement concerning the tactics of waiting for the congress of Soviets to convene was nothing but a deliberate hoodwinking of Kerensky, a ruse to dull his vigilance, a kind of camouflage. To stage an uprising under the bare slogan of the party's seizure of power is one thing, while to prepare for it and effect the uprising under the slogan of upholding the rights of the congress of Soviets is quite another. Isn't that clear? So why paddle along in the wake of the Stalinist school of the falsifiers of history.

Martov. Look here, Trotsky, that's simply not true. None of us who were involved in the drama then, either at the Smolny or in the Winter Palace, actually realized what was going on. The events carried us all along with them. You were really waiting for the congress to convene, and you had your own reasons for doing so. But as for all this theory of camouflage, it's something you read in Sukhanov's book and then borrowed as if it was your own idea. You need it to bridge the contradiction between your own stand and that of Lenin, who maintained it would be utter idiocy to wait for the opening of the congress. I asure you that had the congress convened with no uprising in the background, we and the Socialist Revolutionaries would not have walked out and the Bolsheviks would not have had their hands tied. Though you, of course, played a pre-eminent role in organizing the uprising, a fact which nobody can deny. If it wasn't for Lenin, if it wasn't for his arrival at the Smolny at midnight, you would have been the man who, as they say in the West, "missed the boat."

Bykhov. 14:40 p.m.

Generals discuss Lukomsky's line-up

Markov. Kollontai.

Kornilov. Undoubtedly.

Lukomsky. Maxim Gorky.

Denikin. Plus Martov and Plekhanov.

Kornilov. Bronstein... Kamenev... Stalin... And that, what's-his-name, Ioffe.

Markov. Generally speaking, as far as the Bolsheviks are concerned, it's quite clear that all of them must be done away with.

Denikin. Still, it would be a good idea to put them, at least the ringleaders, on trial.

Markov. What on earth for? The main thing is not to beat about the bush and have hands tied by juridical formalities.

Lukomsky. There's one trial we could arrange. A motivated, well-drafted charge of spying for Germany would be more forceful than shooting them. That would be political shooting.

Kornilov. All that leftist, what they call revolutionary democracy, is not the point. The nation will accept that with full understanding. The objective I have in mind is to induce a state of shock, of paralysis so that no son of a bitch dare raise his head. Get what I mean - a state of shock! Will that be achieved if we put Lenin with some factory hand up against the wall? Never. But if we have the Rodzyankos, the Milyukovs, the Struves, the Berdayevs swaying from the lampposts...

Markov. Don't forget Kerensky!

Denikin. Struve's a bit too much.

Kornilov. It's not the bit too much that we've got to be afraid of, Anton Ivanovich, but the bit too little. We'll paralyze the entire bunch only if our dragnet is broad enough. I'm not joking. Short shrift for all that thinking, blabbering, playacting bunch, the cause of all our misfortunes! If we send Russia into convulsions, you can count the day won. I don't thirst for blood, I'm simply proceeding from what is expedient. We have to save Russia. Though it wasn't us who drove her to the brink of the grave, it is for us to save her.

Lukomsky. Only convulsions will enable us to bring to fruition our plan for a well-ordered military dictatorship. The entire population is to be broken down into three armies - one for the front, one for the transportation network and the third for the factories in the hinterland. The Soviets are to be dispersed, all mass organizations, along with the trade unions, dissolved and the press, save for our own, abolished.

Denikin. Why all that? After all we're Europeans. Harsh censorship would be quite enough.

Lukomsky. I agree. All parties to be disbanded and all public activity to be brought under the new political party led by Kornilov.

Denikin. I'm not quite sure about that either. We must pretend to be in the background. We generals are men of action. We can always scrape up blabberers for parties.

Markov (laughing). Let's still have somebody left to play around with.

Kornilov. Plus the immediate disbanding and filtration of all revolutionized army units. For the men of these units - concentration camps with the harshest of regimes and reduced food rations. Martial tribunals and the death sentence for civilians throughout the country. I don't trust either Petrograd or Moscow. Let the Cossacks first deal with them.

Lukomsky. What about the future state system?

Markov. Proceeding from historical tradition, from the nature and habits of our moujik, all he needs is a monarchy and naught else.

Lukomsky. Better enthrone the tsar five years later than five minutes too early.

Denikin. I wouldn't decide that issue beforehand. We have first to enter the Winter Palace. Neither would I discount the concept of a military dictatorship.

Lukomsky. What about the Constituent Assembly?

Markov. Break it up as soon as convened, should it decline our dictatorship.

Kerensky. Stay! Stop! Do you hear all that! Do you see the connection between the two varieties of Russian extremism? On January 5, 1918, the Bolsheviks dissolved the Constituent Assembly for having rejected the Bolshevist regime. Next, what deal did the honorable generals grant its deputies? I don't mean these but their blood kin, Kolchak and his ilk. I must make this public knowledge! At first Kolchak in Omsk placed the Socialist Revolutionary deputies under arrest. The Bolsheviks staged an uprising and freed all the arrested men, but (excitedly) unfortunately were unable to hold the city. The Kolchakmen told all the arrested to return to their cells assuring them that their lives would be spared. Our glorious comrades, those selfsame deputies of the Constituent Assembly, acting as befits honest revolutionaries, returned to their cels. But what happened next? That same night the people's elect were dragged out of prison and all were bayonetted, with even a bullet denied them. May the public know that! I'll go even further and say that I always thought that were the generals to win, they would have saddled Russia with a form of military-fascist dictatorship! That would have surely and truly pointed the way to the grave!

Kornilov (to Kerensky). Enough of your claptrap! It's now three in the afternoon. Better tell us what you did to squash the Bolsheviks? Did you start to put your foot down or did you cowardly mark time?

Denikin. Our rightness, Mr Kerensky, the rightness and correctness of the line we drafted has been confirmed by life, by the experience of history. For it is precisely these methods that enabled Stalin, like Peter the Great, to rank Russia amongst the world's great powers. Churchill is supposed to have said that Stalin blundered twice, when he showed Europe to Ivan and Ivan to Europe. I categorically disagree; only a non-Russian could have said that. That Ivan was shown Europe was a good thing, as the army came to realize that it constituted a great national force. Then, it was undoubtedly no blunder on Stalin's part to show Europe our valorous Ivan. May that once and for all time dampen the desire to take up the sword against us.

Stalin. General, if you so greatly advocate comrade Stalin's methods, why didn't we spot you in Maklakov's group of émigrés, who in the spring of 1945 in Paris told my ambassador Bogomolov that they acknowledged my government as Russia's national government? (to be continued)

Copyright. All rights reserved.

Vasil Naidyonov:

"My stimulus is trying to be perfect"

The first thing I saw was a forest of hands swaying in time with the music. Fans swarmed around the stage and watched the singer - Vasil Naidyonov - who was performing that night for fellow Bulgarians, students in Moscow's higher schools.

Vasil Naidyonov has been riding high in the popularity polls conducted by the Bulgarian radio and television for years. He has repeatedly come out on top in the Golden Orpheus international competitions. Every Vasil Naidyonov concert is a sellout.

"How do you account for your success?" my first question to the singer was.

"It's not so easy for an artist to explain his own success. But since you ask.... When I made my appearance on stage and television, I put in a performance which was different from my predecessors' and from what the audience has been used to in form and style. My music was a big hit with the public and went down well with the critics."

"Does this mean that fame has been 'thrust' on you?"

Some think that light music is light work. All they see is applause, flowers, smiles. But few know how much effort it costs both a composer and a performer to achieve recognition.

"At first, you're certain to come up against obstacles such as lack of understanding on the part of the critics and the audience. It usually takes the public some time to get used to your style, to your personality. Gradually they come to accept you.

"As far as I am concerned, it was not only my style of presentation, but also the way I dressed that seemed nonconformist to some. I apeared on stage in tennis shoes - for no other reason than convenience because I move and dance a lot as I sing. This caused much eyebrow-raising among critics but now, years later, many pop singers wear tennis shoes on stage to no one's surprise. It's not what an artist wears but what he is trying to get across to the audience that matters. Any art, variety art included, has a tremendous emotional impact on people, especially young people. We artists must always be careful about what ideas we convey to the audience. It is our mission to help man become better and more kind."

"Which aspect of a song means more to you - the tune or the lyrics?"

"I think that the most important thing about a song is content. Only a song that strikes a responsive chord in you stands a chance of getting popular. Today the public expects a pop song to carry meaning. A lot has already been said about weak, trite, and senseless lyrics. I must confess that some of them have come my way, too, but I now seem to be past this 'teething stage.'"

"Have you tried writing your own songs?"

"I've got a few, six or seven, in my repertoire. All of them are on records, some have even made the top hits list. I mean, for instance, the songs like 'Fun Break,' 'A Near-Forgotten Love,' 'Gossip' (one of my records is named after the latter)."

"How do you choose a song?"

"I've long noticed the following peculiarity. If a tune that a composer has given me keeps haunting me at home, out in a crowd, everywhere, then I know I've got it. That was the case with the song 'Love by Telephone' which the Soviet pop music fans liked, too.

"Sometimes a moment comes when I say to myself:'Lay off for a while. Have a break.' I need a break in order to make sure I haven't developed any clichés. I spend five or six days trying to identify myself with a new song, and if it gets a hold of me, I start working on it in earnest.

"Sometimes I feel I'm no good at all and get angry with myself. Never being satisfied is a great stimulus to creative work, to self-improvement."

"Vasil, let's now delve into the past, if you don't mind. What was it that started you on the road to the stage?"

"The piano."

"Were you a piano player?"

"No, I only went through a piano course at the Conservatoire. My mother, a singing teacher, told me I should learn how to play the piano because I had a good ear for music but no voice at all. But I saw myself a pop singer in my dreams. The Beatles had just appeared on the scene and I learned all their songs. Having done a tour of duty in the army, I entered the piano class of the Conservatoire and took up singing at the same time.

"After graduation, I joined the pop group Golden Strings. Then came Diana Express and Tangra. 1979 was a good year for me - I was invited to take part in the Golden Orpheus competition and won first prize, both for the song of my choice, and for my treatment of it."

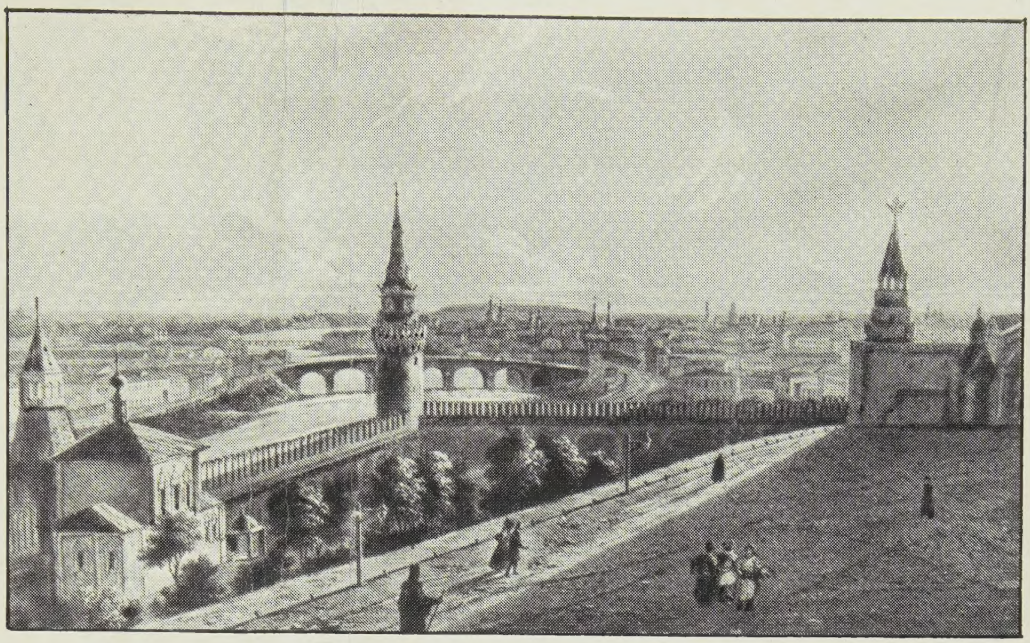
"So, your mother was wrong about you, after all."

"She was. She was right, though, about the variety artist needing good music taste and training.

"What is your profession's strongest appeal to you?"

"I've been at it for sixteen years, and my ambition has always been to please my audience. Seeing people smile at me as I sing for them really turns me on. It's sure great knowing people enjoy your work."

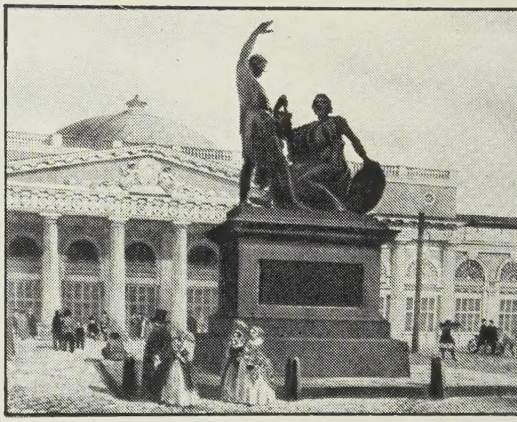
YURI BELKIN



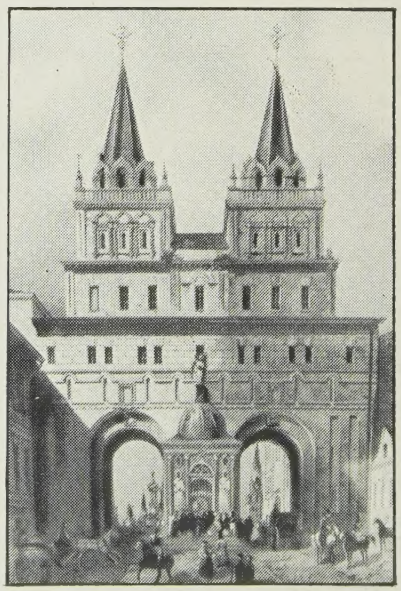
It is rather hard to imagine what Moscow looked like, say, two centuries ago. Too much has been irretrievably lost. The unique relics of the past which have survived the onslaught of reconstruction and modern architecture can now be counted on the fingers of one hand and, anyway, seldom hold the attention of a hurrying passerby.

Hence the special value of Pyotr Romanov's collection of old engravings, lithographs and time-yellowed newspaper pages which re-create the Moscow street scenes of way back. They show the Sukharev Tower, shopping arcades on Red Square, the Bolshoi Theatre, the vaguely familiar cityscapes which have by now changed almost beyond recognition.

It has taken Pyotr Romanov over a quarter of a century to put together, bit by bit, what amounts to a pictorial story of a bygone Moscow's everyday life, customs and traditions. Through the eyes of his favourite artists — de la Barth, Cadolle, Falileyev, Shchusev and others — the collector affords us a peep into the past of our capital.



As you proceed from picture to picture, you get the feeling you are roaming the cobblestone pavements of old, amidst hoop-skirted damsels and their elegant escorts, milkmaids, tipsy cabbies, organ grinders and postmen, past the glittering rich and the tattered poor.



Items from Pyotr Romanov's collection.

Photos by V. Panov

Facing the past.

INTERNATIONAL CONTEST

THE EARTH— OUR COMMON HOME

Dieter Weber (G.D.R.)

ИНДЕКС 70622 НА АНГЛИЙСКОМ ЯЗЫК